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THE LIFE
OF
THOMAS STORY,

ABRIDGED

BY JOHN KENDALL,

REVISED

And Considerably Enlarged

FROM THE

FOLIO EDITION WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

By WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



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THE LIFE
OF
THOMAS STORY.

Section III.

Visit to Barbadoes, and others of the West Indian Islands.—
A vessel in which he and Jonathan and Mary Dickinson were
sailing, captured by a French privateer.—Their treatment.—
His illness on the voyage home, &c.

Having had a concern upon my mind for
some years to visit Barbadoes, Jamaica, and
some other islands in the West Indies, in the
service of Truth; and the Lord having wrought
a willingness in me, and, in the course of his
Providence, made way through many diffi-
culties; on the 18th of the 11th month, 1708-9,
I sailed from Philadelphia on board a sloop,
H. Stephens, master: we anchored at Newcastle
that evening; and on the 20th proceeded on our
voyage, and arrived safe and well at Barbadoes
on the 9th of 12th month, after a passage of
about fifteen days from the Capes to the island;
for which I was truly thankful to the Lord, the
over-ruler of all things.

Landing in the morning, and two meetings falling of course that day in Bridge Town, I had the advantage to be there, to my great comfort and satisfaction in the Lord, who was pleased to give me a full confirmation in myself concerning my call thither; though He did not appear much by me then, other than in greatly tendering my spirit before Him in silence, and sending forth an efflux of many tears at several times during these two meetings; for I had but a sentence or two to speak in each. On the 16th, after a meeting at the Spring, not being aware of the nature of the climate, I took cold, which proved exercising, and reduced me to so great weakness that I was not able to attend any meeting for some time. Being a little recovered, on the 27th I was again at the Spring meeting, but returned that night to Joseph Gamble's.

On the 3rd of the 1st month, 1709, I went to Francis Gamble's, where I staid that night; and the next day, being the sixth of the week, I went three miles to a meeting at Spikes; where there were several strangers, and generally well satisfied; and after the meeting for worship, we held the Monthly Meeting for business. All being well ended, I went to Spikes to our friend Thomas Jackman's, where I dined; and thence, that evening, returned to our friend Samuel Richard's house; where I was kindly entertained.

On the 6th, being the first of the week, I was at another meeting at Spike's Town ; which was large, and many things opened for information, especially to the Jews, some few of them being there, concerning them and the ten tribes : which meeting being over, after some refreshment at William Derry's at Spikes, I went to the Bridge and took my lodging, as before, with our friend John Grove ; where I had open and courteous entertainment.

On the 8th we had a good meeting at Bridge-Town, several strangers being there ; and so rested till the 10th. On the 10th, being the fifth of the week, we were there again ; and, after another good meeting, returned to our quarters ; where we staid till the first day following, having the company of several Friends, in whose conversation we had comfort and refreshment. On the 13th, being the first of the week, we had another meeting there at the Bridge ; which was also large and well, many things being opened to the states of the people, and generally well satisfied.

On the 16th, being the fourth of the week, we were at a Quarterly Meeting near that town, and had good service ; many things being opened, and the meeting ended well. On the 17th we were at another meeting in the same place, being also a meeting for business, and

had good service ; things being open and comfortable. On the 19th we went nine miles to our friend Olive Peter's house, near Champion-Ground ; where we lodged that night, having dined in our way with our friend Bridget Piercy, and had a meeting the day following, being the first of the week, at the meeting-house at Pumkin-Hill ; and then returned to Olive Peter's.

On the 21st, being invited by colonel Lambert to his house, we were there courteously and liberally entertained ; and from thence, that evening, we returned to Spikes, to our friend Thomas Jackman's ; and next day were at their meeting, which was large and well ; and that evening lodged with our friend Joseph Gamble, at Spring.

On the 23rd, being the fourth of the week, we had a meeting at Spring ; which was large, and the Truth in good dominion.

On the 27th, being the first of the week, we had a meeting below Cliff, at the house of George Foster ; who, though not a Friend, was very courteous and respectful to us, and we had a pretty large meeting ; most of them being strangers and generally civil, and some tender. After dinner we called at colonel John Holder's, to whose house we had also been invited to dinner, his wife being at the meeting ; and after

such courteous entertainment as the circumstances of the time would admit, I went seven miles with John Grove to his plantation.

On the 28th we went to our friend Abigail Braithwaite's, where we lodged that night; and next day went a mile to Mercy Evan's, with whom we staid several days. On the 30th, being the fourth of the week, we had a meeting at Windward; which was poor and low, there being but a few, and things very flat and dull, yet some pretty well pleased; and that day returned to the same lodging.

On the 31st, accompanied by my friend John Grove, I went to see general Codrington, at his house about three miles off; but not being at home, we happened to see him at the house of Mary Walrond, an ancient widow and an acquaintance of John Grove's, where we had called in our return, and there had some short intervenient discourse with him; who, though of a mean aspect, appeared of a great mind and considerable thought and learning; and after some expectation given him of a visit at his own house another time, we parted and returned that night to our former lodging.

On the 1st of the 2nd month we had a meeting at a private house, by the courtesy of major Henry Evans and captain Palmer, in right and absence of Nathaniel Curtis; which was a larger

and much better meeting than at the meeting-house before : most were strangers, there being few Friends in that part of the island ; and that evening we returned to the house of our friend Mercy Evans.

On the 3rd, being the first of the week, we had another meeting at the meeting-house there ; which was larger than before, and a better meeting, though not to full satisfaction to me, and yet to most. That evening we went to the house of our friend Joshua Gettings ; where we staid till the next morning.

On the 4th we went from thence to Bridge-Town, to our first lodging, and next day were at their meeting ; which was a very open and comfortable meeting, though small, by reason of want of notice in the town of our being there ; for Friends being but a few, the people seldom come, unless they hear of strangers. y *

I was at meetings at other places, till the 19th of the 2nd month, when I was again at Spikes, and had a meeting ; which consisting for the most part of such as come to meetings, the testimony for that day, after a long and heavy

* The Editor has inserted these additional extracts from the original work, in order to give a little more idea of the state of our Society at that time in the West India Islands ; in which it is no wonder that our Christian principles did not thrive ; being so opposed to the horrid slave system.

time in silence, went against those who had professed Truth, and were not faithful; but rather secretly encouraged their children in such things as the testimony of Truth is gone forth against in this generation; in mixed marriages, in the glory of the world, and love of it; after the meeting I went away pretty easy.

On the 23rd we visited our friend Nathaniel Curtis, who at that time was very weak, with whom we had some time in prayer; after which he expressed great satisfaction, and said: "It is in vain to make promises to the Lord, considering the weakness and frailty of man; but if it may please the Lord to restore my former health, I hope to be more circumspect, and spend the remainder of my days more to his glory; He is a merciful God, and has been near to help in some times of great extremity;" with several such like expressions.

On the 24th we had a meeting at the meeting-house; and next day were at the six-weeks meeting at Bridge Town; and after that I was at several other places, till the 10th of 3rd month, when I left the island, and accompanied by many Friends, went on board the packet-boat, and about two in the morning, we set sail for Antigua. On the 12th, in the afternoon, we came in sight of it, and next morning arrived

in the bay. Our Friend William Haige met me on the wharf, and from thence conducted me to his house; where I staid till the 15th, being the first day of the week, and then had a meeting in town, which was pretty large and satisfactory; the blessed Truth being in good dominion, and the people very sober. On the 16th I went into the country to see our ancient friend Jonas Langford, being now above eighty years of age and without natural sight; he met me at the door, in the porch, and, as I took him by the hand, he turned his eyes upwards, and said: "Blessed be the Lord, who gives unto the righteous the desire of his soul!" And so, without any more words between us for some time, keeping me by the hand, we sat down together in the hall; and, after some time in silence, we discoursed of such things and affairs of Truth as then occurred: and being openly entertained by him and his wife, there I remained till the fourth day following, being in the mean time visited by several Friends.

On the 18th and 22nd I was at meetings at John's Town, which were in a good degree to satisfaction. On the 24th I went to see general Park, then governor in chief of the Caribbee Islands, who was very respectful and free with me on several heads. The packet-boat being then in, and being free in my mind, I took my

passage in her for Jamaica; but tarrying till the 25th, we then set sail for Montserrat, where we arrived the next morning; we staid at Montserrat till the 28th, and then went to Nevis, where I was kindly entertained at the house of John Horn, a merchant there, who, though not of our Society, was very respectful. After dinner, we went to see some hot springs near the town, which are so hot that we could not hold our hands in the water, nor scarcely put them in without scalding; and the sand where the water issued, was scarcely to be touched, it being so hot, and yet the water pleasant to drink when a little cooled. Next morning we went into the country, about eight miles off, to the house of Mary Wilson, an honest Friend; where, in a meeting of about eight or nine persons, the Lord was pleased to give us a comfortable season of his love together, to our great refreshment.

On the 30th we set sail for Christophers, anchored in the road, and on the 1st of 4th month proceeded for Jamaica, where we arrived safe on the 8th following. Soon after our arrival, our friend John Ward came on board the ship, with whom I went on shore, and lodged at his house that night; the next morning I viewed the town and forts, where I saw great effects of the dreadful earthquake still remaining, though the people were gradually filling up

divers deep places with stones, in order to raise new buildings.

The earthquake here had been very dismal ; and yet such are the wicked expressions, oaths, blasphemies, and profanations of the Holy Name of Almighty God, among the inhabitants of both sexes, that sober men who never heard them, would hardly believe if it were told them, that human nature was capable of so great degeneracy ! Yet I believe the day of God's mercy is not over to some among them. O that they might see it, in the remaining time of favour, to their great redemption !

This view finished, I went on board Charles Wager, rear admiral of the blue, of whom there have been accounts of his great achievements in martial marine affairs. My business was only a civil visit. He received me courteously, being a person of a calm, sedate temper, and no way elevated. As he is a man of war, we discoursed on that subject ; and as I am a man of peace, we conversed religiously and not martially ; he for the punishment of privateers and pirates, as wolves, bears, and tigers ; invaders and breakers of the peace, and robbers ; but I was for saving the life, that poor sinners might have time to repent and be saved. What passed between us, was with great civility and temper ; the meekness of Christianity being

more apparent in his deportment, than any material harshness. Having staid so long as I thought suited our circumstances on both sides, at that time, and received invitations from him to further acquaintance, I returned on shore.

On the 10th, 12th, and 13th I had meetings at different places, in some persons houses; on the 15th at Spanish Town, on the 22nd and 24th at Port Royal and Kingston, and on the 26th had another meeting at Port Royal, which was much larger than before, and many things clearly opened; and the people, though one of the rudest and most wicked places I know of in America, very sober and attentive, and some of them were considerably reached. Leaving things to pretty general satisfaction, to the honour of the Lord, the Author of every good word and work, I returned with several Friends to Kingston.

On the 28th I went on board a ship from Port Royal, in order for my voyage to Pennsylvania; the next day we reached Port Morant, where we put in for water, and the weather proving unfavourable, we staid there till the 3rd of 5th month, when we set sail towards the east end of Jamaica, in order for the windward passage. On the 6th, at break of day, we were in sight of the westernmost parts of Hispa-

niola ; and spied two sail right a-head, which alarmed us, fearing they were the enemy's privateers ; but they proved otherwise.

On the 12th, in the evening, we turned the eastermost point of Cuba, and stood our course all that night, and the next evening came near certain visible sands, called the Hogsties ; and, being among several islands, shortened our sail that night, and in the morning found ourselves on the south side of Long Island. Perceiving a sail to the windward, which came down upon us, and stood the same way, we were a while in suspense what kind of vessel she was ; but, in a few hours, were convinced to our great exercise and damage ; for, coming within gun shot, we saw his French pendant, and soon after he fired one of his guns to summon us : our captain being of fighting principles, and his men likewise, hoisted the English ensign, and returned his salute, but no loss happened on either side. They quickly perceived how the matter stood with us, that we were not capable of any great resistance, and therefore advanced nearer, and the master of our ship soon yielded to her ; she was but a small sloop fitted out from Martinico. We being, by God's permission, fallen into their hands, the captain sent on board his lieutenant, a Dane, as he said ; who speaking good English, told us not to fear,

for we should fare no worse than he; so that they were kind all along as we sailed to Port-a-Pee, on the north side of Hispaniola, where we arrived on the 17th, and came to an anchor.

Whilst we were sailing, they greatly importuned us to discover what we had but little of, viz. money. On the 18th the officers came on board: and having a little Latin among us, we made shift to understand one another, so as nobody else knew what we said. Before they departed on shore, they sealed down the hatches, lest any of the goods should be embezzled, and so the admiral of France be deprived of his right. The captain having a jealousy that I had money, ordered me to be searched, but found only my silver spoon, my watch being gone before.

On the 19th we were sent for on shore by the officers aforesaid, and very kindly treated by them; but Jonathan Dickinson and I were under much exercise of spirit, not yet seeing the particular cause, which afterwards appeared to be this: It seems the laws of France require an oath of the owners and masters of vessels, in such cases, the better to discover the value of vessels and things; which they administer by holding up their hands, then imprecating God to their loss of their part in Him in case of falsehood, but true answers to make to every

question. The master being not of our Society, was sworn and examined strictly; they next proposed it to Jonathan Dickinson, but he refused, which was a great surprise upon them, and some of them began to be a little heated. Then I told them in Latin: "That we were a people differing from all Protestants in several points of religion, and that we never swear, neither in judicature nor conversation; that we had suffered great hardships in former times, in England, for refusing to swear; and many of us had died in prison for that cause; that king William had passed an act of parliament in our favour in the case of oaths."

They replied: "It was a difficult case; their law being very express in the king's books." And looked into a printed book often on this occasion. My spirit being under great exercise, whilst they were striving with Jonathan Dickinson, who stood firm against swearing, at last I found ease and comfort in that holy, blessed, and overruling Truth, whose testimony we were thus called to bear against such a power, and we in the state of prisoners. Soon after they took his testimony, without swearing or any other asseveration, save a bare, sober relation, by promise only to answer truly. After they had begun their examination of him, the comfort of our blessed Lord, whose presence and shield

were with us, so increased in my heart, that my spirit was broken in a consideration of his goodness and faithfulness to us; and some tears running down as I sat by, one of them observed it; and being in a surprise, enquired the reason by the interpreter; but I made them a sign of silence, which they all took, and were still a short time, and then proceeded in their examination; this being over, I told them the cause of those tears was: "That though it had pleased God to permit us to fall into the hands of these men, yet perceiving He had been pleased to inspire them with so much gentleness and favour towards us, my spirit was broken as they observed, in humble thankfulness to the Lord, who was thus kind to us in a time so needful; and for their favour we were likewise grateful." This they heard with great attention, and bowed themselves, when they understood it, with gravity and a serene and gracious aspect.

On the 22nd, in the afternoon, a Jesuit came to the inn where I was, with whom I had some discourse in Latin, in which, though I had been long out of use of it, and his dialect and mine much differed, yet we made shift to understand one another pretty well. I having a Latin Bible and an English concordance, quoted several passages from the Old and New Testament; "showing Christ to be the true Light that was

promised as such, as the object of faith, in the first place, to the gentiles, and then as a sacrifice for their sins : that nevertheless it was the same Christ offered to the Jews, yet under another administration, viz. as born of the Virgin Mary, according to God's promises to them ; and that this is the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." All which he could not deny.

After this, he began with their common notions about Peter, quoting *Matt.* xvi. 18. where Christ says : "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, &c. that Peter being the head of the Church, the popes of Rome had succeeded him until this day, and were in his place, Christ's vicars here on earth, and ought to be regarded accordingly in all things."

I replied : "It is true that our blessed Lord, taking occasion to ask his disciples, 'Whom do men say that I the Son of Man, am?' Some said one thing, and some another; but Peter said : 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;' upon which Christ replied, 'Simon, son of Jona, flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but the Spirit of my Father : Thou art Peter, i. e. a rock, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' In all which I do not understand that Christ promised to build his Church on

Peter, but on the Spirit, power, and wisdom of the Father, which opened and revealed that great and necessary truth to Peter: for though his name signifies a stone or rock outwardly, yet such a rock is too weak to bear so great a weight as the Church of Christ; but the power of the Father being Almighty, his Spirit all-quickenings, and wisdom all-sufficient, the gates of hell, that is, the wisdom, counsel, and power of hell, for here He alludes to the kings, elders, and people of the Jews, who often held their politic and warlike councils in the gates of their cities, shall not prevail; but the counsel, wisdom, and power of God. And Christ himself being the wisdom, power, and Word of God, the Elect and precious Stone, the Head of the Corner, and binding Stone of all the building, the apostle Paul does accordingly ascribe to Him only the Headship, and calls Him expressly the Foundation, viz. He is given to be Head over all things to the Church; and another foundation can no man lay, than that which is already laid, which is Jesus Christ.

“But,” continued I, “if it had been true that Peter had been that rock, head, and foundation of the Church, as we see he is not, how did they prove that the popes of Rome had succeeded him in that station? and who was Peter’s successor, when there were two popes at one time,

both pretending to be Peter's successors?" This question I found was not grateful; and consisting of two parts, he answered only to the latter, and that by another question, viz. "When king James and king William became competitors about the crown of England, how did the people know which was in the right?" To this I replied: "There was no parallel; for this was wholly a human affair; and men usually in such cases, follow the dictates of human understanding, consulting chiefly their own safety and natural interest. But in matters of religion and Divine things, it is quite otherwise; for good and truly religious men, following the example of Christ and his saints, sacrifice all to the cause of religion, though contrary to sense and human reasoning; therein following the revelation, dictates, and openings of the Holy Spirit; which is never wanting to the true and faithful, as the Head and Foundation of the Church of Christ; and his successors are they only who follow Christ in a holy innocent life."

All this the good old man, for so I thought he was, heard with great patience, and without any show of anger; but made no reply to the matter, only saying, it was near mass time, and he must attend, and that we might have some further discourse another time: but I saw him no more; though I had several discourses with others,

who had also a little Latin, and all ended peaceably, these things being generally new to them. In my discourse with the Jesuit, and frequently with others, when I brought Scriptures home upon them, and against their sentiments or for ours, they told me: "This Bible of yours is not truly rendered from the original languages; there are many omissions and undue versions in it." I desired one of theirs to compare them; but could not have one among them all: for though they said, that persons of any account among them might read the Scriptures, being only prohibited to the ignorant and mean sort, yet none of them could say they had any Scripture, but generally referred me to the father, viz. the Jesuit; except once, that one of them had a New Testament in Latin, in which I could not observe any difference from mine.

On the 23rd came colonel Lawrens, who was governor of the fort there; he gave me an invitation to his house, about two miles off, which I accepted, and was very courteously entertained by him and all his family. The next day being the first of the week, the Jesuit made us, our principles, and deportment, the whole subject of his sermon, as we were told by several of their own people, and said: "That we were an innocent and religious people, differing in many points both of doctrine and practice, from all

other protestants, and seemed to have a right faith in Christ; only we appeared to be too diffident concerning the saints, our duty to them, and the church's power, and the like. But in the end exhorted his people to keep firm in their own religion; and as these people were thus cast among them; to show their Christianity and respect to them." And so they generally did, more than could have been expected. After this I was several days at the governor's, and had conversation with him on different subjects, which he appeared to take well, and treated me very kindly.

On the 28th I went on board the vessel, and next day we set sail for Port François, where we arrived in a few days. The town is generally built of split cabbage trees, or palms; it lies along the coast behind the Cape; has a dry situation; is of an oblong square; the ends of the streets to the sea, and others running across, after the manner of Philadelphia. There were several Jesuits there, but I had no discourse with any of them. The place is not healthy, by reason of their brackish water, which generally has an effect on the health of the inhabitants; and in a few days I was taken ill of a violent fever, which in one night's time caused a question in my mind, whether I might survive it: but we finding out a widow, who was of Irish

parents, she gave me the best entertainment she could at her house ; and it pleased the Lord to restore me to my health very quickly : but not having any means to clear myself of the effects arising from it, they were of ill consequence to me afterwards.

Though we were not made prisoners here, we did not find the inhabitants so courteous as those at the former port. We found some protestants, but in secret, among them ; and some who could speak a little English. One day a Jesuit, in his pontificals, with bells, cross, and such formalities, passing along with many people, and one of our company asking what they meant, was answered : There was a man in town very sick, and the father was going to administer God unto him : he meant the consecrated bread which they call the sacrament ; and whilst the priest prayed within, the people prayed, or seemed to pray, in the street, kneeling.

As we had occasion to pass the streets, the inhabitants often viewed us with great seriousness, and seldom derided us. We staid in this port about forty-five days, and were in a great strait what to do ; for it is rare to find any passage or correspondence to any other place, save old France or Martinico : so that we were forced to solicit a passage in the same vessel we

were taken in, where we had been already quite weary of very unsuitable conversation ; and it was not without difficulty we obtained it for pay. We sailed from hence on the 17th of 7th month, and in the passage met with great difficulties ; they reckoning it to be only about two weeks, proceeded accordingly ; but when we were far from all land, and much time spent, we were becalmed for about ten days together ; and our fresh provisions being nearly spent, and no prospect of proceeding on our voyage, or of any relief, we came to allowance of water, which was a quart in twenty-four hours ; and this not being good at first, was now muddy and offensive.

I was taken violently ill soon after I came on board ; by which, and want of suitable accommodations, I was reduced to a very weak condition. Sometimes I lay in the hold, in a mixed company of rude, blaspheming wretches, where we could not sit upright, and close as a stove ; which in that hot country, was no small aggravation of my illness. After suffering much from the inconveniencies to which I was subjected, in this tried situation ; at last I grew so weak as not to be able to bear it, but lay upon the deck in the open air : my legs were swelled so big, that the skin would scarcely hold, with divers aggra-

vating circumstances ; which had been too hard for all my own strength, if I had not been upheld and supported by the never-failing arm of the Lord, who never left me wholly to myself in all my afflictions ; and in whose blessed visitations my soul rejoiced in the remembrance of some of my nearest and dearest friends ; who by this time had long looked for us, and were ready to give us over for lost : but through the grace of God, I was fully resigned to his blessed will, in dying or suffering, in life or death.

At length it pleased God to give us a fair wind, also a little to abate my distempers ; and we fell in, between Antigua and Montserrat, with the French island Guadaloupe right a-head ; and there we put in for fresh water and other refreshments. On coming to an anchor, the governor of the island heard of us, and sent us word, that there was a flag of truce belonging to Antigua, which he expected at Guadaloupe in a few days, and advised us to come on shore and stay for the flag ; and so we did, being glad and surprized at this unexpected deliverance. We staid about a week, and were much refreshed, the people being kind. When the flag came, we made known our condition to the captain, who showed us favour.

On the 26th of 8th month we set sail for

Antigua, and arrived there on the 29th : I was cheered in my spirits to meet with some Friends, and to be again among the people of our own nation. I went to Jonas Langford's, where I was kindly and openly received, and nothing omitted in order to my recovery.

1709.

Section XXX.

Further visit to Barbadoes.—Goes to London.—Visits William Penn.—Visits his Father.—Goes into Norfolk and sails for Rotterdam.—His visit on the Continent.—The Czar of Muscovy attends a meeting.

The reader will here observe a chasm of nearly five years ; of which time no account was found among the author's papers, except by a letter to his wife, written from Antigua, wherein he mentions his design of getting a passage to Barbadoes, and thence to return home ; after this it is supposed he buried his wife, and was mostly engaged in public business till 1714 ; when he found a concern to visit Barbadoes. And respecting this visit the journal commences anew.

On the 3rd of 2nd month, 1714, taking leave of some of my most particular Friends and acquaintance, under a suitable concern on all sides, I set sail from Philadelphia, and that night arrived at Newcastle ; next day, being first of the week, I was at a meeting there, in which it pleased my great Lord and Master

to favour me with his good presence, and the consolation of it; which I received as a testimony and confirmation, that the Lord was pleased with this undertaking; the next morning we fell down to Elsenburgh, from thence to Lewis, where we staid some days; and on the 15th set sail for Barbadoes, the wind standing southerly: and about the tropic of cancer, being becalmed, it was the 15th of 3rd month before we saw the island of Barbadoes; but that evening we landed at the Bridge, our desired haven, where I met with a kind reception from my Friends, and some others of the inhabitants. I had several meetings in this town at the Spring, and other places; and on the 29th we went with our friend Edward Harrison to visit his mother, brother, and sister, the two women being under some conviction; and my spirit was much comforted in a sense of the love and visitation of God towards them; and my hearty desire and prayer to the Lord was, that they might embrace his merciful offers, whilst He was pleased to continue them; of which I was not without hopes, considering how near they were to Truth; waiting at home in silence together for the Lord's teachings, and, in some measure, then sensible thereof.

At the Thickets the meeting being almost

wholly lost, I went from house to house among them, exhorting them to more diligence; and they promised amendment. After this I staid in the island visiting Friends and meetings, till the 24th of 7th month, when I returned to the Bridge, and staid there till the 17th of 8th month, which being the first day of the week, and I about to take leave, the meeting was large; it was also open and free, and Truth in dominion, to general satisfaction: and, as many of different persuasions had frequented the meetings during my abode there, so divers expressed their concern at my departure; and I parted with them all in peace and love; leaving the end of all my labours among them to the Lord, for whose sake I was so long there. On the 20th, taking leave of Friends, I embarked for London, and after as good and comfortable a passage as could reasonably have been expected, the time of year considered, arrived there on the 6th of 10th month, and lodged at John Crouch's.

The Lord had been with me, to comfort me and to bear up my mind through divers exercises, arising from weakness of body and the fatigues of my voyage through the great ocean; and his goodness continued with me, and tendered my heart after I arrived at this great city, both in my retirements and also in meet-

ings ; in which I declined to appear in public testimony, as long as I could be still in peace ; but suffered under the burden of the Word of Truth, and a right concern in it, by reason of some forward spirits ; who having accustomed themselves to talk of the things of God, in their own power and wills, left me no room in some meetings to discharge my mind of those things incumbent upon me ; though Friends, who had formerly known me, were very kind, and we were mutually comforted one in another, both in conversations and meetings : the Lord's presence being with us in some meetings, to the honour of his own Holy Name, and our consolation.

Now as I returned into my native country, in the drawings of the love of God and power of his holy commandment, in the simplicity of the blessed Truth, I appeared as the Lord was pleased to make way for me, being reconciled unto God and to all men, and unengaged in their strifes and emulations ; which I found to be many. On the first day of the week, in the meeting at Grace-Church-Street, I prayed for the king, as my concern was at that season ; from which some made this remark, that I was no Jacobite, supposing me, as I may collect from hence, to concern myself, as too many, even among our own selves unwisely do, in the

advancement or disappointment of particular persons unto the thrones and dignities of this world ; but this I never took to be my business, which was to leave it to God, and pray for those He advances in the course of his providence, that they may rule in moral righteousness and truth, and we be protected, relieved, and defended by them, against all those who would oppress or injure us, in things pertaining to this present world.

On the 15th, accompanied by John Crouch, I went to Ruscomb, to visit William Penn and his family. He was under the effects of an apoplectic fit, which had happened to him some time before ; for his memory was almost totally lost, and the use of his understanding suspended ; so that he was not so conversable as formerly ; and yet as near the Truth, in the love of it, as before : wherein appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks : for though to some this might look like judgment ; yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own, and suspension of all his enjoyments till this happened to him.

When I went to the house, I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition ; but

when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit, under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications; and what the finest of men are soon reduced to, by a disorder of the organs of that body with which the soul is connected and acts, during this present mode of being! Nevertheless, his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him. And that he had still a good sense of Truth was plain, by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of Truth, in an evening meeting we had together there; wherein we were greatly comforted: so that I was ready to think, this was designed as a sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which had so much oppressed him.

From hence I returned to London, where I staid till the 6th of 1st month; then went towards the north on account of my father, who hearing of my being in Britain, had written earnestly for me to come to him. He being then about the eighty-fourth year of his age, had lost his sight, was ill of an asthma, and very desirous to speak with me before he departed this life; so I took meetings as they fell in my way, and was at Hertford, Leicester, Nottingham, and Mansfield; from whence I went to Balber Hall,

to Sir John Rhodes's; where I was kindly received by him and his mother. Here I staid several days, and had good conversation with them; being very open-minded and courteous, and of a good understanding in the things of God. He was convinced when young, and held his integrity through many temptations; preferring the simplicity of the Truth, and the enjoyment of it, before all other things.

On the 27th I was at Handsworth Woodhouse, being the first day of the week; the meeting not large. From hence to Leeds, Kendal, and Carlisle, and to Justice Town to visit my father, who was glad of my arrival and very kind. After being at several meetings in these parts, and staying some time with my father, I took leave of him in much tenderness; and on the 24th of 2nd month I went to Wigton, where lived some persons who oppose Friends, and have been very disturbing in our meetings. Some of them came to the meeting at this time, and behaved with great violence: they had been disowned by the Society for their misconduct, which made them so outrageous. I was at several meetings after this, as Allanby, Pardsay-Crag, Cockermouth, and many other places, till I came to Oxford; where the scholars and others were very violent at this time, breaking the windows, doors, seats, &c.

and doing great damage to the Presbyterian meeting-house the same evening I arrived here ; and the next evening they used our meeting-house in the same manner, breaking in by violence, and taking away all the forms and seats that were loose ; they likewise took the doors off the hinges, and burnt them with part of the wainscot in their bonfire : the room next the meeting-house they also abused and defaced ; so that the whole was greatly despoiled. Yet this did not cool their rage ; for they broke into the dwelling house of our ancient friend Thomas Nichols's daughter, then a widow, and did some damage. From thence they went to the baptist meeting-house, and gutted that, as their term is : and as they came up the street from that piece of service, I lodging at young Thomas Nichols's, we expected the same usage as his sister had met with, and therefore got for safety into the staircase ; and as they came up to the house, they broke the windows, and so went on without doing us any farther harm : I observed, that as satan raged in them before they came up to the house, Truth moved in our minds and filled us with heavenly consolation and life ; so that we were without fear of what they could do further.

By the time all was over, it was about two in the morning ; and there came in several of the

sober neighbours, who mentioned to us some of this mob's reasons for their violence, as they had found by discoursing with some of them. They said, that some of the low party being at a tavern in town, there drank healths and confusions, and spoke of burning the late queen's picture and Sacheverell's. And in revenge of this they assaulted the Presbyterian meeting-house. Their pretence for using us in the same manner was, because we voted for the low members of the present parliament.

The next morning we went to see the ruins of our meeting-house, and many scholars and people being there, I said pretty loud, so that they might all hear: "Can these be the effects of religion and learning?" Young Thomas Nichols likewise put them in mind of Sodom and Gomorrah; "and that this was the same evil spirit which wrought in that wicked generation, upon whom came destruction; and that if they continued in such evils, the same just God might bring like condign punishment upon them." To these remarks they made no reply, but "the mob had done it, and it was ill done:" so would have excused themselves; but some others said, they themselves were that mob, and would be met with one day; after some time we returned to our Friend's house, and the same day I left the city.

This is one of the blind eyes of this poor nation! one of the fountains of their religion and learning, from whence the whole land is poisoned. Can sweet and bitter waters issue from the same place? Or can religion flow from hence to the nation, where the life of religion is so remote from these vain pretenders? What advantage have they received from learning, who are so destitute of the principles of civil behaviour?

On the 31st of the 3rd month I came to London, being about a week before the Yearly Meeting; which in the main was much more comfortable, through the great mercy of God, than many expected: for as the affirmation from the beginning of it, had occasioned much disturbance in the church, some being for and some against it; so these divisions had been very oppressive to my spirit, as knowing nothing could hurt us more than that, or give satan or evil men more advantage against us: but though I never liked it, yet I ever kept true charity to those Friends who were for it, as believing they saw no hurt in it, though I thought I did. I laboured that we might regain, and keep a right temper one towards another; and as a further solicitation was talked of, the late act being ready to expire, I advised several leading men on both sides, to proceed in one joint interest, as one people; for

though we could not all agree about the definition of an oath, or in what relation the affirmation stood to an oath, yet we were as one man still, that an oath is not consistent with Christ's doctrine; and accordingly they did both solicit for a plain affirmation, without the Sacred Name; but that could not be obtained; all that the parliament would do, was to perpetuate the former, adding some clauses for the levying of tithes.

When this came to be discoursed in the meeting, the minds of some on both sides were disturbed; but the Lord was near, and by his blessed wisdom and power, preserved us in unity; and things came to this good issue, that such as could take the affirmation, might have the benefit of it without censure of their brethren, and such as could not take it, should not be reproached by them; but that the Meeting for Sufferings should continue their care and solicitations, together with the dissatisfied, for further ease in that point, at a fit season; and with this conclusion both sides were easy.

The meeting being thus well over, on the 17th of the 4th month, I went with some Friends to Braintree, and from thence to Colchester, to the Quarterly Meeting, and was likewise at the Yearly Meeting there; the Lord gave us a comfortable time, exalting his blessed Truth

and its living testimony ; and things were open and clear. I went from hence to Norwich, and was at their Quarterly and Yearly Meeting, which was large, especially the last day, many people attending. The more particular matters wherein I was concerned, being about the kingdom of Christ, the kingdoms of men, and the kingdom of antichrist, with his priestcraft and fallacy ; which reached many understandings, and affected the people as well as Friends ; and Truth gained among them to our mutual comfort.

On the 1st and 3rd of the 5th month, I was at meetings in the country, and returned upon the 4th to Norwich ; next day went by water to Yarmouth, expecting a vessel soon to sail for Holland, in which I intended to go ; but the wind proving contrary, we appointed a meeting there. On the 17th I embarked on board the *Eagle*, a vessel of Yarmouth, and arrived at Rotterdam on the 19th. I took up my lodging with my friend and old acquaintance, Robert Gerard, formerly of Aberdeen in Scotland.

On the 20th, being the 4th day of the week, I was at their meeting, which is very small, there not being above four families, and not all under the profession of Truth : but the Lord, who is not confined to number, but opened the law and the prophets to the two disciples going to Emmaus, was pleased to visit us together, tender

our hearts by the same Word of his Grace, and make them burn within us, to our solid consolation.

On the 26th I set forward by Delft, Leyden, and Haarlem to Amsterdam, where the meeting, falling of course the next day after my arrival, was small, and in the fore part of it very heavy and dull, under the temptation of a sleepy spirit which prevailed on several ; there being rather a lukewarmness and declension in this city, than a going forward : but the Lord was pleased to make way for us through this veil of darkness ; and the meeting ended in some degree of life. Here Jacob Claus interpreted for me, as Archibald Hope had done at Rotterdam ; which being a thing I had not been acquainted with, was a little strange at first, but as I gained experience, it became more easy, and my spirit more at liberty in that exercise. The next day we returned to Haarlem, where we had an appointed meeting ; for though they had formerly had a settled meeting there, most of them are become so cold, that they have wholly dropped it, and some of them go among the Mennists. There having been notice given, the meeting was pretty large, most of them Mennists ; things opened large and clear among them, and Truth was in good dominion in the life and power of it : they were generally very quiet, and some

of them reached and tendered, and departed in a very solid condition from the place; that night we lodged at Pieter Leendaars.

On the 29th we went to the house of Simon Bevel, who having married a Mennist, was drawn aside with her; but coming to this meeting was reached and affected. We intended to have made him a visit, but he happened to be gone to Amsterdam; however his wife received us courteously, and brought some of her good things to complete her civility; but we having a greater eye upon the Lord than these, and more towards her good than her entertainment, the Lord was pleased to draw us into a sweet silence; and gave me a few words to her in particular, which reached others present; and then John Padley prayed, and we had a very tender and comfortable season; after which we departed in great love and peace, she inviting us thither again in our return that way, if it should please the Lord so to order it.

Having finished this satisfactory visit, we returned to Amsterdam, and were at their first day meeting; which in the forenoon was pretty well filled with strangers, some supposed to be young princes or nobles, by their garb and retinue: things opened clear and well concerning the way of Truth, and I was interpreted by William Sewell; the people were very quiet,

and many of them seemed concerned, and in some measure reached by the Truth. In the afternoon their meeting is usually more select, but now there were more strangers than in common; it was open and comfortable, the Lord being with us, to the praise of his holy Name, who is worthy for ever.

On the 2nd of the 6th month, being accompanied by Pieter Leendaars as interpreter, we went to Hoorn, in North Holland, and from thence to Twisk, and lodged at the house of H. Grooteval, a Friend; next day we had two meetings there, which were open and well, and several tendered and comforted in the Truth; whose blessed power was over all. On the 4th we went back to Hoorn, to the house of J. W. Flashbloom, a Mennist, but convinced of Truth. Here we had a meeting in the Mennist meeting-house, which was not large, but pretty open and well. That afternoon we went by waggon to Enkhuisen, where we lodged at an inn, and made a visit to one Martin Daniel, a baker, who is convinced of Truth, but has not strength to profess it: he and his wife were very kind, and invited us to lodge there, but we declined this, lest we should be burdensome to them, only being there at dinner: I having something to say on that occasion, they were reached, and their hearts still more opened; we exhorted them

to be noble, and take up the cross freely, and despise the shame; which now, as well as of old, attends the profession of the Lord Jesus, according to the present dispensation.

On the 6th we set sail for Harlingen, in West Friesland, where we arrived in the evening; and next day, being first of the week, had two meetings in a room which Friends have for that purpose, being but two or three small families: several of the Collegian Mennists came thither; but I believe our doctrine, though sound and good according to Holy Scripture, did not please some of them; though others were well satisfied, and several of them came to see us at our Friend, the widow A. Joesten's house, where we lodged: the Lord was with us, and all was well and comfortable, several being touched with a sense of Truth. Next morning early we departed in a draw boat, and went by the way of Franker, Leuwarden, and Donum, to Groningen, where we arrived that night, and lodged at an inn.

The next morning we went towards Delf-zell, and from thence over the river, and up the shore of East-Friesland, to Embden, where we found only one poor old widow remaining under the profession, called Hester Jans. After taking some refreshment at an inn, we went to visit her; which she took well, and was rejoiced to see us:

after that we walked through much of the city, but were all of us greatly loaden in our spirits, in a sense of the power of darkness. Returning to our inn under this sense, it pleased the Lord to visit us together in a time of holy silence, and make us sensible of his Divine love to a people there ; in which our spirits were released from the other load, and became now freighted with a burden of love, in order to a visitation of some of them : and accordingly next day we had a meeting at the widow's house, at which a considerable number were present, and generally sober ; some of whom were well affected. We had a comfortable time, the Lord being with us, and the principle and doctrine of Truth were clearly opened, in a good degree of life and love, and the people departed in a visible solidity, in a general way ; so that I have hopes of the place, that the inhabitants will receive Truth, and entertain it better than heretofore ; for there were several Friends here formerly, who being greatly persecuted, some went away and others died. But this city falling into a very sensible decay, as persecuting cities and kingdoms do, and the Burghers reflecting upon their former behaviour to Friends, began to be sensible, in some measure, of their error, and would now gladly receive any Friends that would settle among them ; and who knows but that if they

continue humble, and in that good mind, the Lord may both send, and also raise many among them, to his own glory, and their great comfort in Him.

Being returned to our inn, we had a message from Hendrick Quart, a considerable merchant in the city, and his wife, to invite us to dinner; we declined that, but gave them to expect a visit as we passed that way; and we went accordingly, and were very kindly entertained. After which we departed the city, the people in the streets showing no dislike but rather civility, as we passed along. We came to Leere that night, and on the 11th went to Detran, Apen, and Oldenburg. ^z At this place we went to an inn on the bank of the river, where we arrived within night, going with horses and waggon into the house, where there were a coach and chariot before, all on the same floor, and the people, and fire, and all their affairs in one view, the horses being set on each side, all within the same walls, though they have some chambers apart; which, though strange and odd to us, yet is the common way in that part of the world throughout our journey; and looked something like Noah's ark, where all kinds were together. ^z

On the 12th we proceeded in an open waggon, they being so in this country, and not so com-

modious as in Holland, where the people are the most regular in many things, I ever yet observed. We went by Delmenhorst to the city of Breme, where we heard that the plague was at Altona; within a mile of Hamburg, whither we were going; and that it was shut up and guarded on all sides; about six hundred soldiers being appointed by the Hamburgers, with consent of the king of Denmark, to that service. This gave us some exercise; for it looked to human reason, a little dangerous to proceed towards a place so circumstanced, and by other towns and places, where we must expect strict examination, besides our own personal danger of the sickness: but after some inward retirement, our way was cleared up through all difficulties, and we resolved to proceed on our journey and service. Here we spoke with Sarah Schreders, a friendly woman. She told us of some others who favoured the way of Truth; that there was a division among the people about religion; and one of the preachers having come near the doctrine of Truth, telling them, that outward baptism, and bread and wine, without the substance would not do, was silenced by a prevailing party, but had still many on his side. Feeling some degree of openness in my mind to the inhabitants, I kept

the place in my remembrance, intending that way on our return.

We proceeded to Otterburg, and passing through some other places, came on the 14th to Hamburg, where we gained admittance, after being strictly examined. Our friend Jacob Hagen received us kindly, but we could not have a meeting this day, because the people were generally at their worship, and none there of our Society but himself, and but few inclinable that way: but the next day, the second of the week, we had a meeting at his house; and he being acquainted with most of the merchants and persons of account, being respected in the city; and having given notice to such as he thought religiously inclined, there came several of considerable note, as to worldly circumstances, some of whom appeared rather like persons of curiosity; and my spirit was much down, and under heaviness, till about a quarter of an hour had passed: the Truth then began to appear in my mind, and soon arose in me over their spirits, and then I had courage and strength: things opened much to the inward appearance of the Divine Word; they were brought under in some degree; and it was a good meeting: most of them took us kindly by the hands after the meeting was over, and passed away very solidly. One of them was Depelius,

chancellor and counsellor of the king of Denmark.

Remaining here till the next day afternoon, Jacob Hagen related the following passage: viz. In the year 1712, the Czar of Muscovy being in the city of Fredrickstadt, in Holstein, about two day's journey from hence, with 5000 soldiers, to assist the Danes against the Swedes, after he had quartered his men, inquired of one of the burgomasters, whether there were any of the people called Quakers there? The officer told him there were a few.

The Czar asked him if they had a meeting in that place?

He told the Czar they had.

Then the Czar bid the officer let the Friends know, that if they would appoint their meeting that forenoon, being the first day of the week, he would be at it.

The officer replied: that there were thirty of his soldiers in the meeting-place; so that there could not be any meeting in it.

When the Czar heard that, he was angry that they had put soldiers there, and sent an order by one of his own captains, that they should all be put out forthwith, and that notice should be given to the Friends by the captain, that if they would appoint their meeting, he would come to it. Accordingly notice was

given thereof to Jacob Hagen, then at Fredrickstadt, and Philip Defair, a public Friend, who lived there; and the place being made ready, they had their meeting at the second hour in the afternoon; to which the Czar came, and brought with him Prince Menzicoff, the General Dolgorucky, and several other of his dukes, generals, and secretaries of state, and other great men; and a great crowd following, he ordered the door to be shut, as soon as a competent number were in to sit comfortably; but many came to the windows, and about the house.

After some time of silence, Philip Defair preached the doctrine of Truth among them, and all sat very quiet, but especially the Czar, who sat likewise very gravely all the time of silence; and the others being awed by his example and presence, did so likewise: but the Muscovite lords and generals not understanding the language, and the Czar understanding it pretty well, interpreted to them what was declared with much seriousness; commending what he heard, saying: 'That whoever could live according to that doctrine, would be happy.' The meeting ending, Jacob Hagen was about to speak to the Czar; but a person, who had hired of Friends the rest of the house, and when the soldiers came had showed them the meeting-room, and so saved his own part clear;

fearing the consequence, if his proceeding had appeared to the Czar, craftily stept to him, and thanking him for freeing the place of the soldiers, requested that he might have leave to put a paper on the house door, to signify it was a place of worship; the Czar having ordered that all churches should be free from his soldiers. By this means our Friends were prevented at that time from speaking to the Czar; who whilst there, went to several other places of worship, but did not seem to be pleased with any but our meeting. A Friend after this presenting him with Robert Barclay's Catechism and Apology in High Dutch, he said, he would have them translated, and printed in his own language.

On the third day after dinner, as we were sitting together, I felt my mind secretly reached, and we were all drawn into silence, and, after some time, to prayer; in which we were comforted. And this being a little over, notice was given to Jacob Hagen, that there was an order come from the king of Denmark to shut up the city of Hamburg, as Altona was, he being informed that the plague was among them also. We being prepared by so good a season, were not surprized at it; but, having no further concerns here at this time, were advised, lest the place should be shut up and we detained

there, to depart that afternoon on our way ; which we did accordingly, though some of us could have been free to stay longer, and would rather have done so. We left the city about five in the evening in an open waggon, the driver of which going on slow and it raining, we were much wet before we reached an inn late in the evening ; where we found but mean accommodations, some of us lying on straw, and covered with wet clothes.

On the 17th early we set forward, but it raining still, we were very wet ; and all of us had taken cold. The next day we arrived at Frederickstadt, and went to the house of our friend Gysmond Outerloo. On the 19th we had a meeting in the town, to which came many of the inhabitants, and some of the best rank, in common acceptation ; things opened full and clear, and they were generally satisfied and some of them tendered.

On the first day following we had two meetings, which were large and open ; after one of them, I spoke thus to the people before they departed : “ That since there was such a difference between our English language and theirs, that the same matters delivered in the former, could not so quickly be delivered in all respects to the same advantages in the other, they might not well apprehend every thing according to the true intent of it ; and our testimony by that

means might suffer loss, and some might not have the full benefit of it: therefore I told them, that if any scruples arose, we were ready, at any convenient time and place, to explain every thing, or remove any objection." But we heard of none any where among them.

On the 23rd we went with several Friends to the city of Tuning, about nine English miles from Fredrickstadt, to try if we could have a meeting; and several were spoken to, but none would entertain a meeting at their houses, being afraid of their priest; they are generally Lutherans. We went to the house of the chief burgo-master, to have spoken to him about a meeting in the town; but he was not at home.

I think it not improper here to mention what happened to Christopher Meidel, who had sometime been a preacher in the Danish chapel, at Wellclose, near Ratcliffe, London; but being convinced and faithful, had received a part of this ministry; and had been concerned to visit this place about seven or eight years ago. Coming to the town, then under the command of the Swedes, "he preached the Truth in the open streets; and some were affected with his innocency and doctrine: but the magistrates sent soldiers to apprehend him, and take him out of the city, and the sentinels were ordered not to suffer him to come in again; so that he lay two

nights without the gates, one in the fields and another in a farmer's house: but though the soldiers could not suffer him to go into the city, yet they were very respectful to him, and he spoke much of the way of Truth among them; which seemed to take place with several. At length he sent to the governor of the city, who was also the chief military officer, desiring to speak with him; and when he came to him, Christopher made known his case, desiring he might have liberty to clear his mind to the people. The governor was respectful, and told him, if he had applied to him first, before he had been put out of the city by the magistrates' order, he could have answered his request; but since they had done it, if he should now protect him it would raise a difference, which he thought was not proper at that juncture of affairs there. After they had reasoned the case fully, the governor took a handful of money, which he would have presented to him on account of his being a traveller and stranger, to bear his charges; but Christopher refused it, with acknowledgments of his kind offer; and so departed from the place."

Upon our going away, we informed some of the people that we intended a meeting next day at Fredrickstadt; and the meeting was accordingly held. The magistrates of Tuning, and

several of the chief of the inhabitants, made some amends for their remissness the day before at their own city; for both the burgomasters came to the meeting, with many others, as also many of the inhabitants of Fredrickstadt and places adjacent, with several teachers of different societies, and were generally sober; the blessed Truth reigned over all, to His own glory; and I believe many were touched with a sense of the virtue of it, and their understandings in some degree opened.

The principal matter delivered was “concerning the Law written in the heart; the Light of the gentiles, and the universality of it; the necessity of faith in that Light, and advantages arising thereby; that though this Law of the Spirit of Life come by Jesus Christ, makes free from the law of sin and death, where it is truly opened and revealed; yet this being compared to a book in the hand of the angel, ‘there is none in heaven, or earth, or under the earth, can open it, but the Lion of the tribe of Judah,’ which is the Lord Jesus Christ, who came of that royal tribe; and therefore it is in vain to depend upon the learned, who cannot open it because it is sealed; or the unlearned, because they are so; nor upon the princes or potentates of this world, who also are unable; but upon the Lord alone: ‘For as none knows the things of

a man, but the spirit of a man that is in him ; so no man knows the things of God, but by the Spirit of God ; and the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God :’ and as the veil was over the heart of the Jew whilst the law was read unto him, and he in hearing the law is still ignorant of the Spirit ; even so the gentiles, though the law is written in them, it is even in their hearts ; and though they read the Holy Scriptures, which testify of the true and Living God, and also of his Son Jesus Christ, and also hear the things of God declared, by the hearing of the outward ear ; yet so long as the law is sealed up in the heart, they neither understand the Scriptures, which are some of the things of God, nor what is spoken unto them, though in the wisdom and demonstration of the Holy Spirit.

“ I exhorted them therefore, to believe in the Son of God, the Light of the gentiles, who once had appeared to the Jews in that holy body, and fulfilled the will of the Father therein, who is also come in Spirit according to his promise ; by whom all are taught that believe and have a Divine understanding by Him : but the wise and learned in this world, by all their wisdom know not God ; but one giving one opinion and another giving another, concerning the mysteries in the Holy Scriptures, they have led those that

followed them into great confusion ; and being departed from the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, the Prince of Righteousness and Peace, they are gone into wars and destruction, making outward as well as inward desolation ; in which they have proceeded to such a degree, that professed Christians have commixed the blood one of another with the blood of horses and cattle in the open fields." Oh great abomination before the Lord !

These and many more close things were delivered among them in the authority of the living Truth ; and I heard of none but one priest that was dissatisfied, who thought I bore too hard upon the learned, and left them too little share in the knowledge of the things of God, wherein he mistook me ; for though their learning without the Spirit doth not qualify them to teach the things of God, they are not unqualified by only having it ; for, as subservient to Truth, it may be and is really useful.

Section III.

Continuation of his visit on the continent.—A remarkable instance of prayer being answered.—His return home.

On the 25th of 6th month, 1715; we were at their Monthly Meeting at Fredrickstadt, which was altogether of Friends; who though few in number, the Lord was near, and we were tendered and comforted together in his holy love; which alone edifies the whole body, which is one in all lands. After this we visited the widows and fatherless among Friends in the town, there being seven widows, and one with seven small children, their husbands having died in a great sickness some time before; we staid several days longer, and had meetings to good satisfaction. There was likewise a marriage of two Friends on the 29th, to which came a great number of people, notice having been given of it largely beforehand. The Lord was pleased to favour us with his presence, and open things suitable to the occasion. ^a When that of the marriage supper and ten virgins came up in the wisdom and authority of Truth,

setting forth the enjoyments of the five wise, and misery and disappointment of the five foolish; the whole auditory were brought under the awe of it, and became as still as the most sedate meeting of Friends; and the Lord's power was over all magnified, and the buyers and sellers of oil, or what they might so call, exposed. There were many affected at this meeting with a solid sense of the virtue of Truth.^a

On the 31st we set forward from hence, accompanied by most of the Friends, and some others, and parted with them near the river in much love, wherein we had been drawn to visit them.

At the town of Mildrop in our way, where we tarried to refresh ourselves, I with Peter Leendaars, went into a place of worship belonging to the Lutherans, being open, where we observed several pictures and images, as they say, of Christ in several conditions, as on the cross, risen again, &c. and one of a golden colour all over. Here were painted and wooden Christs, in statuary and imagery, painted heaven and painted hell, painted saints, and this among professors of Christ, pretending reformation from the church, which is condemned for idolatry; and all is justly condemned by the Holy Scriptures, and by the practice of the saints in all ages. I asked our landlord: "Why they had

so many images of Christ in their churches and houses?"

He answered: "It is to put us in mind of Christ."

I replied: "It seems you do not love Christ so well as you should, since you want so many outward mementos of his outward appearance; but the primitives had the mind and spirit of Christ; they bore in their own bodies the dying of the Lord, and wore his cross in their hearts; by which they were crucified to the world, and the world unto them, with all its show and vain glory: and this cross is that living virtue and life of Christ appearing in men's hearts now, as well as in those days; working the same effects in all who believe, follow, and obey it, being the saving grace and Light of Christ unto all people."

This seemed strange to him, as appeared by his countenance; yet I believe it answered his conscience, for he made no reply; I felt the love of truth to him, and the people there, but nothing for a meeting at that time.

We proceeded on our journey, and came on the 2nd of 7th month to Breme, where we had been before, and were kindly received; but I having taken cold, and lying between two feather beds, their way of lodging, an intermitting fever, to which I had of late been subject,

returned upon me, and I perspired exceedingly ; which much impaired my health and strength. In the morning we spoke with Sarah Schreders, and found things were at a low ebb among them relating to Truth, hardly any of them having courage to entertain a meeting, fearing the magistrates and priests, there being both Lutherans and Calvinists. However we went to some of their houses, and more of them being together, they took courage, and consented to a meeting next day, which was held accordingly in an apartment: there came more than we expected, and the Lord was pleased to be with us, to our help and comfort; but so cowardly were most of them, that as my voice began to be raised, so as to be heard further than the room or house, they could hardly sit for fear; which both hindered themselves much, of what otherwise they might have received, and also made my exercise the greater; yet they staid the time of the meeting, and several of them were broken and tendered; and generally very loving when we parted with them after the meeting.

Before we went from the house, we had a message from one Pieter Frederick Detry, who desired to see us at his house; which we also had been desirous of, but had heard he was under exercise of mind, and so retired that he

did not care to converse with any body. When we were going in, he received us at the entrance of the door very respectfully, and took us into a room; where, being placed, we were silent a while; and some things opening in my mind suiting his condition, I spoke them, wherewith he was well satisfied: after I had done, he spoke a few words, by which I perceived he was in a good degree illuminated by the Divine Truth; and, in a sense of a fresh spring of love and life at that time in my soul, I was much broken, which also reached him; and after some time in that condition, we were bowed in prayer, where I found my spirit much more at liberty than in the meeting, and the Lord gave us a divine season of his love, and a visitation thereof together at that time.

When this was over, we fell into some conversation; wherein he was very open and free, and informed us, that he had in his first concerns in the world followed merchandise; wherein he had gained well: but a desire entering his mind to be helpful to mankind in a better concern, he went to the college, and studied about five years; when, finding himself sufficiently qualified, as he thought, for the work he aimed at, which was to be a teacher among the Calvinists, he took that function upon him accordingly, and had been very acceptable among that people

there : but as it pleased God to open to him the emptiness of the priests, and all outside shows and formalities in religion, he had accordingly published his sentiments openly, in his sermons, especially as to the insufficiency of human learning, without the Spirit of Christ in a ministry : and that such a ministry could never profit the people, but greatly hurt them ; he said much to this purpose, and added, that he expected very soon to be cast out from among them, for this and other doctrines he had preached, contrary both to their principles and practices ; but being clear in his understanding, and having peace from the Lord in what he had done, he was resolved, by the grace of God, to maintain his doctrine against them, let them do what they would.

This was acceptable to us, and he was thankful to the Lord for our visit ; which he said, was a strength and confirmation to him. He mentioned what is said of Christ during his personal appearance : “ That many believed in Him, but durst not own him for fear of the Jews, and being cast out of the synagogue : ” which he knew at that time, he said, was the state of a great many in that city, who were convinced of the way of Truth, but were not yet able to confess it in an open manner ; but he was in hopes the Lord would give them strength in time, to own

Him freely : and this was also our apprehension of that people.

At our parting he embraced us with much affection, wishing us a prosperous journey, and desiring we might remember one another in the Lord. We were told by some friendly people, that this young man, being more spiritual in his doctrine than any of all the rest in town, was much admired and followed by the people, which raised the emulation and envy of the priests, and they watched occasion against him ; but being of a holy life, and much pressing that in his ministry, they could not find any that way ; till he set forth the necessity of inspiration, and the Spirit of Christ in a Gospel ministry ; and that all who were made ministers only by men, without the Power of Christ, which alone can make a minister, and that without any help, power, or authority from man, were only intruders and pretenders, and no true ministers : nor were the ministers of Christ to teach for hire, but freely. This was what they had now against him, and had him at this time under dealing, having admonished him twice, and the third time at hand, in order to cast him off and silence him.

Thus it appears, though he had gone to the college with intent to qualify himself, being now better informed, he had leaned on the Lord for

strength and wisdom, and not upon his learning, in which he was not inferior to them.

We heard also of some others in other places, cast off for the same reason ; so that the Lord is at work in many hearts against antichrist and his ministers in several parts of the world ; and that day drawing near, wherein “ alas, alas ! with wringing of hands, must be the condition and cry of all the broken merchants of Babel ;” for their ware will sell no longer, because there is wine and milk, yea all dainties and delicate things, to be had freely at the table of the Lord, in his holy city, without money and without price : “ For the Spirit and bride say, come ; and he that heareth saith come ; and whosoever will come, may come and drink of the water of life freely.”

Soon after this visit we left the city, and went by way of Oldenburg to Leer ; here we spoke with a religious person, who had formerly been a teacher among the Baptists in that place, and very acceptable to them, being of a good conversation ; but through an inward conviction, that he had taken upon him what the Lord had not called him to, he left it off and lived retired, and not in communion with any ; but loving all that were honest and spiritually minded.

Desiring to have a meeting here, this man went with us to have spoken with the Baptist

teacher in the town, but he being absent, we went to the house of one of the elders, by whom we understood we could not have a meeting in their meeting-house, as some of our Friends had the year before ; for a Calvinist minister had come from Embden since we passed that way, and preached that the wars, and other plagues were in the countries because of the tolerating so many bad sects of religion, aiming more especially at them and us ; and they themselves having liberty only by connivance, the meeting our Friends had before, occasioned their liberty being drawn into question. He further stated, that complaint being made against them, the matter was depending in the court, and they knew not how it would issue ; whether they should not be banished the town on that account ; for none have toleration there, by the Emperor's order, but Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists.

Upon this I told them : “ We were not come there to add to their sufferings ; but were sorry it should happen so on that occasion, which was not intended for their hurt, but the good of all : ” and I took this opportunity to inform them : “ How we in Britain and elsewhere professing Truth, had been persecuted from the beginning ; some by banishment from our native country ; others had suffered long and hard imprisonments,

even unto death, in dirty and noisome dungeons ; some spoiling of goods, and loss of lands, with cruel whippings, derisions, and mockings ; some had also been hanged and thrown into pits, for the testimony of Jesus, which we were now preaching in these countries. But the Lord was with us in all this, and was our support and comforter, making way for us, so that we have now as much liberty as any others. I told them also that the Lord had visited a people in France ; but they being yet weak, and flying the cross, left their native country and fell short of that testimony given them to bear ; but the Lord being still at work among them, they would at length stand as we had done, and come up in the same thing, though in another name ; for the world being ignorant of the work of God, give names as they list, and all in contempt and derision.”

I also observed : “ That there were many here in Germany, and the countries about, convinced in their hearts of the same Truth and Divine principle of Light ; who being yet weak and fearing persecution, were not willing openly to own it ; which might be to their own ruin ; for Christ who is the Light of the world, said : ‘ He that confesseth Me before men, him will I also confess before my Father, and the holy angels ; but he that denieth Me before men, him will I also deny before my Father, and the holy angels.’ ”

I proceeded to say more on the subject; the man and his wife, with several of their children, who were grown up to young men and women, being present, who were reached and solid; so that we had a comfortable time among them. After having some conversation with others, who appeared to be well disposed, we departed; and that evening came to Embden.

Soon after our arrival, we went to see our ancient friend Esther Jans, and the next day had a meeting in a large granary, and the day after another in the same place; both which were in a good degree to satisfaction, and a pretty large number were present. After this we made a visit to Hendrick Zwart, the merchant who invited us to his house, as we passed that way to Fredrickstadt. He was very open and free with us, and we found him ready to own the Truth in all things we opened to him, which were many.

On the 9th we departed from this city for West Friesland, and came in the evening to Groningen, where we had three meetings, to which came a pretty many Mennists; the Lord was pleased to be with us, and many things concerning the Light and Spirit of Christ, and the word of God were opened to them, I think to general satisfaction, though against the doctrine held by many of them with regard to the Divinity of Christ, which was fully proved

There was a Lutheran attended all the meetings, a man of some account in the city, who was reached and tender in the last meeting. Another person, an apothecary of the town, was also at the meeting and well satisfied, inviting us to his house ; where he confessed freely, that water baptism could not be that commanded, *Matt.* xxviii. 19. though it was practised for some time in some places, in condescension to the weakness of the people, and upon its original ground in John's time, as were circumcision and other legal rites.

In the afternoon we departed the city in a draw-boat, and arrived about ten at night at Dockum, where we had a meeting next morning in the Baptist meeting-house. We went from hence to Holfert near the sea-coast, where we prevailed with the Mennists to have a meeting in their house, which was large and more open than the other ; but after the meeting was ended one of them, as is usual in their own meetings, read a verse of the 75th psalm, and they went to singing before we got out ; I found myself easy to stay till they had done, for there was soon something in my mind to say to them on that occasion. And liberty being granted, at the conclusion I spoke to this effect :

“ That I had once been amongst a people who used to sing psalms, and it was a custom

among many still ; but I desired them to consider the foundation of their singing, whether it was any part of the worship of God, or that He required it of them as such ; and also whether they all sung their own conditions ; for things might be true in the Psalmist, which were not so in them : as for instance, a high-minded proud man's singing, that he behaves himself as a weaned child in silence and rest is not true ; nor can any sing in that state. The apostle Paul says : ' I will pray with the Spirit and with the understanding also.' And sing also in like manner ; and speaks of making melody in the heart to the Lord in hymns and spiritual songs ; but nothing of singing other men's psalms without the Spirit."

I said likewise : " That I had observed in these countries among such as think themselves reformed, much of outward show, as images, pictures, and also high and lofty instruments of music, which had not been duly considered in their reformation."

This last, some seemed not to approve so well as the former part, but we had the countenance and approbation of some of their teachers ; and parted with them in friendship. From hence we went to Drachten, where we had a meeting with the Mennists which was large ; the Lord was kind to us, and advanced his blessed Truth

over all in the wisdom and power of it; and many things were opened and cleared to them to their general satisfaction. After the meeting was over, some of their preachers showed us kindness, declaring their unity with our doctrine. And one of them said: "I hope we shall all one day meet in the kingdom of heaven!" And so we parted in peace and love. This is as hopeful a meeting as any I have yet seen among them.

It was with difficulty I proceeded on my journey on account of pain and weakness of body, my natural spirits being much exhausted by a fever; yet the Lord was good and gave me strength in a large exercise in another meeting with the Mennists at Gorelyke, and the Truth was over all, to the satisfaction of both the teachers and hearers. After this we had a meeting in the Mennists' meeting-house at Heerveen, which was not large but open and fresh; and many things of great consequence were made plain beyond expectation, which made me look a little at the people, they not seeming by outward appearance like such as might have a capacity to take what they heard; but what opened was declared. In the time of the meeting came in a person, who by his garb and behaviour looked like a gentleman, as such are usually called among themselves, and he was very

most and serious. After the meeting was past and we had retired to our inn, our host informed us, that he was in an outer room, where several persons of more than common note had placed themselves to hear us; our host invited them in, but they declined it because they supposed it might be some surprise upon the poor people, and make some disorder in the meeting which was already settled and quiet. This was civil if that was their true reason, which I have no cause to doubt.

One point opened in the meeting was to this purpose: viz. "When our blessed Lord in the days of his flesh, on a certain time was preaching to the Jews, He said: 'Except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man, ye have no life in you.' Again: 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, the same dwelleth in Me, and I in him.' This doctrine offending the multitude, they said: 'How can this be? How can this man give us his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink? This is a hard saying, who can receive or bear it? and from that time they went back, and followed Him no more.'" And so great was the mystery of this saying, that the apostles seemed, at least some of them, to be staggered at it; which occasioned the Lord to say to them: 'Will ye also leave Me?' But Peter said: 'Whither shall we go?

Thou hast the words of eternal life ;” signifying, that he and the rest had tasted of the Divine virtue which accompanied Christ’s doctrine to such as believed : agreeably to what is said by Him : “ My words, they are spirit and they are life.” The meaning therefore of these expressions : “ Except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you ;” is, ‘ that the Spirit only quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing.’

“ This is as if He had said : ‘ If ye would eat my flesh and drink my blood in your carnal sense, and as ye literally take it, that eating and drinking of my flesh and blood would profit you nothing ; but the substance is my Spirit which maketh alive, and also strengtheneth and nourisheth all who partake of it.’ Now there are certain people who suppose and believe, that as soon as their priests have uttered certain words of consecration, as they call them, over a piece of bread, or cup of wine or water, that this bread is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ, even the same that was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem about seventeen hundred years ago, and that cup into the same blood that was then shed. Now, supposing this was really true, as it is plain to common sense it is not ; yet the eating and drinking of this flesh and blood would profit them nothing ;

therefore it is great pity that so much bloodshed and cruel destruction, should have been made under pretence of that which, in comparison of his quickening Spirit, profiteth nothing. But this blood must be reckoned for; and the day hastens."

Though I was thus plain in the open meeting, and it was interpreted unto them, I heard of no dislike or objection in any.

A remarkable thing was here related to us, which I thought worth notice, viz. one Talken Corsten, a Mennist, who lives at a town called Malkom, in Friesland, told us, "that some years ago, our friend Sarah Collier being in these parts, desired a meeting with them in the meeting-house, which they refused her; but he himself had a secret desire of a meeting, and gave her the liberty of his house; where a meeting was held accordingly, to good satisfaction. After the meeting, Sarah had a desire to make his wife a visit, who then lay ill of a disease which had been upon her for about twelve or thirteen years. Being conducted into her chamber, Sarah Collier was concerned to pray by her, for her help and deliverance from that malady, and great exercise of it; and to his admiration and also his wife's, and all who had opportunity to observe it, his wife recovered presently upon it, and has been well ever since."

He earnestly desired we would come to that town, promising he would let us have a meeting in his house.

After this we had meetings among the Men-nists at several other places, as Jever, Oude-boone, Grow, and Lewarden; meeting with a kind reception, and tokens of approbation, both from the teachers and hearers: at Grow, H. Gosses, the preacher, came to us after the meeting, and taking me by the hand, he embraced me, expressing much satisfaction before the people, and received us to his house gladly: we found his wife also in the same mind with him, open hearted and kind.

At Lewarden the meeting was larger than we expected, and very still; many things were opened to them in the wisdom and power of Truth, especially "concerning the fall of the first Adam, with his posterity; the temptations and victory of the Second Adam, and the overcoming and salvation of all who believe and obey Him; but the final loss of all who disbelieve and disobey Him; for He is the same Word who was in the beginning, and in whom was life, * 'and that Life the Light of men;' and by whom that prohibition came: † 'Thou shalt not eat; for in the day thou eatest, thou shalt

* John i. 4.

† Gen. ii. 17.

surely die.' And eating, they died unto that life, and became blind also unto that Light, and so fell from God, who is that Light: therefore the posterity of the fallen man must again believe in the same Word, Light, and Life, and also obey and follow Him; or else they remain in death and condemnation: and if they so depart this life, having a day of visitation by this Light, which is the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and that once was made flesh and dwelt among them, they are concluded under death and darkness for ever; for He said to the Jews: 'He that believeth not is condemned already:' that is, whosoever hath sinned, as the first Adam did, though not in the same thing, is under condemnation and death; but true faith coming by the Word of Life in him who hath it, and justifying the sinner from his sins, maketh him holy, just, and true; for this faith purifies the heart, works by love, and overcomes the world. Then such are free and live to God, and no more to sin; then they keep that great saying of Christ: 'As I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love, even so do ye keep my commandments, that ye may abide in my love;' and then: 'He that hath the Son, hath the Father also; and he that hath the Son, he hath life indeed, even life eternal.'"

The meeting being ended, the countenances of the people were open and free, and Wopke Clauses, a ruling elder in the congregation, kindly embraced us and invited us to his house; but intending to depart very soon in the boat, there was not time for it. We got well to Harlingen that night, to the house of A. Joesten, a Friend; and the next day had a meeting, which was small and not very open. Several of the people called Collegians were there: some necessary truths were clearly opened, especially relating to the Divinity of Christ, which they commonly deny, as also his baptism with the Holy Spirit. We had two meetings after this more open, held in a room that Friends have here; for they hold a meeting, though few in number: Truth seemed to gain upon them, so that we heard of no objection made by any.

We departed hence on the 22nd, and came to Worcum, a town on the coast, where the Menist teacher allowed of our having a meeting in their house. Most of the heads of them were there and very sober, hearing attentively several things of moment opened to them; one of which was: "That it is not our embracing true principles and notions doctrinally, and so sitting down under these, and an imitation of good and goodly men, that will bring us to heaven; unless we be also in the same life and virtue in which

neither can any inherit the kingdom
less they be in the nature of heaven ;
; be but through regeneration by
the Word of God ; the same that was made
flesh, and now appears a quickening Spirit.”
This they seemed to receive well ; though their
meeting was not very open as to life, but
laborious, yet solid, and ended well in free and
open prayer. After the meeting we visited the
woman who was healed, as before mentioned ;
and she, with two or three more who came to
the house, were tender and under convincement.
After a short prayer with them, we exhorted
them to meet together and wait upon the Lord
by themselves in silence.

This afternoon we passed along the coast to
Hindelopen, and arriving there before night, we
procured a meeting with the Mennists, that sort
called Collegians, in their meeting-house. It
began about the sixth hour, and was pretty large
considering the time and but a small town : most
of their chief people were there, and also one
of their preachers. This was the most open
meeting we had on that coast : many things of
great weight were made plain and clear to the
understandings of several : one person expressed
his satisfaction, though the Divinity of Christ
was fully set forth and proved according to
Scripture ; showing them, “that the Divine

nature is not the human nature ; neither is the human nature, abstractedly considered, the Divine nature ; but the Divine Word, assuming a reasonable soul by an inseparable union, and clothing that soul and Word with that holy body born of the Virgin Mary, this is the true Christ, and so appeared to the Jews : but the Divine Word, clothed with that holy soul as a veil, now appears to us gentiles as He is Light ; not appearing to us in the brightness of his Godhead ; for so we cannot behold Him in the state we are in : but being thus veiled by a soul homogeneal to us, being of our nature, here we begin to perceive Him, till by degrees we are changed, so as to behold Him in future and more excellent glory, as to degree of manifestation."

The meeting ended in much sweetness in prayer ; and I had great peace after it, and was very easy, as if I had done on that side the sea. We were at Malkwern and Staveren, but no suitable opportunity being found for meetings at either of these places, and being easy to pass over to Enkhuysen, we embarked about two in the afternoon and arrived there, through the goodness of God, our great Protector and Saviour, well and in great peace with Him, about seven in the evening. We went to the house of Martin Daniel, a friendly man, to answer the

kind invitation he had given us as we went that way before ; but discoursing with him about a meeting, he told us there was hardly any in all that great city who inclined to come to a meeting, being generally Calvinists and not in want. Finding things so cold, and expecting better service elsewhere, we concluded not to stay ; but before we departed, I exhorted them to be true and faithful to the Lord, according to the degree of manifestation they had ; and then they might expect more. After a tender time in prayer, we parted in peace.

In our way to Twisk we called to see Diric Mindersen, at Bennawisent, a village ; having heard he desired it. He had been a Mennist, but for some time had withdrawn himself from their worship, and remained alone ; but his two daughters inclining to our meetings, he had given them their freedom, and himself also had an inclination to Truth. He received us very kindly ; and after a time of silence, John Padley had some words in prayer. I also having had a secret concern whilst I was there, after John had done, spoke to this effect : “ That the Lord was at work in many hearts, to draw men under his own blessed teachings ; and the voice of the angel of the covenant of life, was now calling unto the people of God, yet in Babylon, to come out of her ; not to be partakers with her in her

sins, lest also they should partake of her plagues: and so exhorted him to be true and faithful unto the Lord, in what he knew; and the Lord would soon make him wiser than all his former teachers." I then kneeled down in prayer; and we had a comfortable season, and parted with him in much tenderness.

At Twisk we were kindly received by our friend Henry Jonsen, and the rest of Friends there. The next day we were at their meeting; which was not large of itself, but there being several of the sober neighbours at it, the little place was full: yet here, where we might have expected more openness than in many other places, being most of them such as make some profession of Truth, I was sensible of as great a power of darkness as in any place we had been at in all this journey; and the meeting was accordingly dull and hard, a long time in silence; but the Lord being with us, gave us the victory and dominion in the end, and several were tendered and comforted. After it we went to Henry Jonsen's, where several came to us; but the comfort and edification we might have had together, was interrupted by two persons who entered into discourse concerning water baptism, and showed some warmth on the occasion.

The next day we went to Horn, and most of the Friends with us, where we had a far more

open and comfortable season together in the Mennists' meeting house. We were invited to dinner by a friendly person, named — Vlasblome, and kindly entertained. In the afternoon we proceeded for Amsterdam, where we arrived about seven the same evening. Our friends were glad of our return, and received us kindly.

On the 28th we were at their week day meeting, which was small and cloudy; yet the Truth in some more dominion than in the meetings before in this place. On the 29th their Quarterly Meeting was held, which was small and dull. The next day we went to Haerlem; and that evening had a meeting there, which was both large and open: many things relating to Truth being clearly opened, and the Truth in good dominion; the people being generally satisfied and Friends comforted.

On the 2nd of 8th month, being the first day of the week, we were again at the meetings at Amsterdam; which were larger than on any other day, both forenoon and afternoon. Several persons coming in when they hear of strangers, there is frequently a fresh visitation to them, which makes things more lively and open. On the 3rd the Friends from Twisk, taking their farewell of us in much tenderness, departed homeward. And at the same time we went to Surdam, with a view of procuring a meeting

among the Mennists there ; but no convenient place presenting, and the chief of them being over at Amsterdam, we could not make it bear at that time. After staying several days longer at Amsterdam, and being at several meetings to a degree of satisfaction, we took leave of Friends in much love, and pretty easy in our minds, and went on the 11th to Haerlem. Here we had a meeting the same evening, which was large and very open ; several teachers of different sorts were present, and generally satisfied. We lodged at Pieter Leendaars.

On the 12th, accompanied by our ancient friend Jacob Claus, an old servant of Truth and of the ministry as an interpreter, which he had been above thirty long and laborious journeys, we departed hence in the Trekschuyt, and arrived at Rotterdam that evening : Robert Gerard meeting us in the way, took us with him to his house. The next day, in the evening, we appointed a meeting at which we had the company of some people of different persuasions. Truth was declared plainly and fully to them ; during which they were still, and seemed touched with some sense of the power of God, which reigned in the meeting ; and the Lord's Name was honoured by it.

On the 16th, being the first day of the week, we were at the meetings both forenoon and after-

noon ; and people of several notions were there. Things opened largely and with good authority concerning Christ as God and man, and the object of the faith of the gentiles as He is Light and Life; being so promised of the Father unto us. I was at their week-day meeting on the 19th, which was altogether of Friends; it was small, but the Lord was graciously pleased to visit us together, in his tender kindness and mercy, and opened things fully to the states of all; and it was a good meeting.

On the 22nd John Padley embarked for London; and no opportunity offering for Yarmouth, where I intended, I continued here some time longer, and was with Friends from time to time at their meeting.

I enquired now more particularly into the state of the Mennists in those parts, and found that their ministers had uniformly preached freely, till, of late, some here and there had begun to receive hire, but were moderate therein; and, though they still kept up their old testimony against fighting and swearing; yet they are not so lively in their worship, nor so near the Truth as they were in their first appearance. And I was informed, that their ministers are, for the most part, weak and dry in their ministry; so that sometimes their hearers had rather some of them would be silent than preach, though

gratis. And if thus it be, it hath fared with some of them as with many others, who having had a day of visitation from the Lord, and obtained a reputation through his goodness among them, by that holy and innocent conversation which they have had through his grace; yet becoming more loose, and not keeping in the grace of God, and the virtue and power of it, have ended in mere formalists; and then, in a generation or two, little has appeared but the outside and form of godliness, which the power of grace brought forth in those who went before. Thus in a great measure, it is with them: yet, in the main, they are preserved from the gross evils of the world; and I hope the Lord hath a visitation of life and power yet in store for them. Among other things I obtained the form of words, used by them instead of an oath; which is thus: "In the words of Truth, instead of a solemn oath, I declare," &c.

The wind at length coming fair, and I inclining to take the first likely opportunity, on the 13th of 9th month, being the first day of the week, after two good meetings, I went to the Briel, accompanied by Robert Gerard, his wife, their sister Bethia, and their brother-in-law John Davison. After staying here a day or two, I embarked in a ship, and through the good Providence of God, arrived safe at Yarmouth on

the 17th; for which, and all the preservations of the Lord through so many dangers, I desire to remain thankful unto Him only.

I staid at Yarmouth till the 20th, and was at their meetings; after which I went to Norwich, and spent some time there to a good degree of satisfaction; from thence I proceeded to visit several meetings in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, till I came to Kelvedon, to Dr. John Fish's, who gave me medecines which proved helpful, as I was at this time much indisposed. The next day I went to John Osgood's, near Coggeshall, where I staid two weeks, in which time I was at several meetings near by; and being much recovered, went on the 18th to Chelmsford, and from thence to London. And during my stay about this city, the Lord was pleased to make my service acceptable to his people there in a general way; and many good times we had together in his blessed presence.

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Section XXV.

Visits Bristol.—Goes to Ireland.—Interview with the Countess of Kildare.—Visits his brother and sister at Bilboa.—Rude behaviour of the people at Ralphryland.—Remarks on the Apostles' Creed—and on Predestination.—Visits his brother the Dean of Limerick.—Discourse with the Curate of Thirles.

The Yearly Meeting at Bristol approaching, and having some drawings thither, on the 14th of 2nd month, 1716, I set forward from London, and that night lodged at Ruscomb, with our Friend William Penn; where my company was acceptable, and we were mutually comforted one in another. The half-year meeting being at Reading on the 15th, I was there; it was large and open. The next day I returned to Ruscomb, and from thence went to meetings at Henley, Newberry, Marlborough, and on the 23rd at Calne; where the testimony of Truth ran sharp against such as colleague with priests underhand, and support them by payment of tithes, &c. I heard afterwards some there were guilty; and that the honest-minded were comforted, the reproof being full and plain from the
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testimony of one, who was so great a stranger to any of their conditions in particular.

After this I had meetings at Charlecot, Chippenham, and Crosham; and on the 2^dth went to Bristol, where I staid the time of their Yearly Meeting, and had some public concern among them to mutual comfort, especially in the parting meeting, which was very large and full, both of Friends and strangers. The Lord was pleased to raise his Truth and wisdom over all, to his own glory and the general satisfaction of those present: for it is not man, but the Lord that works effectually; and the honour is due to God only, though the weak are apt to look to an instrument, which in itself is nothing.

On the 4th of the 3rd month I was at Bath: this was a comfortable meeting; and Samuel Bownas, that able and experienced minister of the Gospel, being there, I was also comforted in his ministry. On the 6th I was again at the meeting at Bristol; from thence went to Thornbury and Nailsworth, Cirencester, Witney, and Oxford, taking meetings in my way to London; where I arrived on the 17th, and staid there during the time of the Yearly-Meeting.

On the 8th of the 4th month I set forward from London with a view of visiting Friends in Ireland. That night I went to Marshgate, and next day to Ruscomb to William Penn's, whom

I found in the same condition he had been in for some time, full of love and sweetness, but not able to express himself as formerly before the apoplectic fit, which had so much impaired his memory.

On the 10th being first-day, I went to the meeting at Reading; and was likewise at their meeting on the 12th to good satisfaction. Agreeably to what had been in my view before, I now used some endeavours to bring the remnant of those Friends back, who formerly, by means of John Story, &c. had separated themselves. I went to some of their houses, and was kindly received; found them not averse to return, but loth to make an acknowledgment of any fault in separating, unless the Friends there would take blame also, which I could by no means yield to; for they had gone off under a jealousy that Friends were apostates and innovators, and had long continued in that error and schism. And now being satisfied that they had been mistaken, and that Friends were not so, as several of them owned, I thought they might well acknowledge their mistake and so be reconciled. But I found one main obstruction was on account of their preacher; therefore I spoke to him the next day, and found him condescending: and though affairs could not then be brought to a conclusion, we parted in peace; and I was very easy and comforted in the Lord,

after a full and hearty endeavour for their reconciliation; having nothing in view but the honour of Truth and their own good.

On the 14th I went to Upton, and from thence to Charlow, Painswick, Nailsworth, Tidbury, and Bath, attending their meetings; and on the 29th came to Bristol, where I was at several meetings that were open and comfortable. I was here informed that the separate persons at Reading, had laid down their meeting and returned to Friends; which gave me great satisfaction.

On the 20th of 5th month the vessel sailed from King's Road in which I had taken my passage for Ireland; but being detained by contrary wind, we stopped at Minehead and did not arrive at Cork till the 28th; here I was at several meetings, and at their week day meeting on the 31st which was larger, I suppose, by reason of the notice gone about of my being the Dean of Limerick's brother; which though it made my work the harder, their minds being outward, and their expectations high and off from the true object; yet my mind being only to the Lord, He was pleased to be my helper; and things were pretty well.

The 5th of 6th month being first-day, was their province meeting. In the morning I was at the meeting of ministering Friends, which

was small and heavy, the weight of the approaching meeting being upon us; but the Lord owned us with his good presence in some degree. And in the meetings this day, which were large both forenoon and afternoon, the Lord was with us in his power and wisdom; and many things were opened to general satisfaction. The next day in the morning we had also a good time; and at the afternoon meeting for the inspection of the affairs of Truth, things were well and peaceably managed, and ended in comfort. On the 7th was a meeting more select for the young people, in which I had a very open and full time to them in the love of Truth; and many of them were much reached: the Lord gave us a good meeting, and season of his love and celestial showers together, to his own praise and our mutual consolation, help, and edification.

It being the time of the assizes, many of the higher rank were in town; and one day came to my friend John Pikes, the young countess of Kildare and her sister, with three others of less quality. We had some free and open conversation, in which this lady and the rest, commended the plain dress of our women as the most decent and comely, wishing it was in fashion among them. Upon this I told her: 'That she and the rest of her quality, standing in places of emi-

nence, were the fittest to begin it, especially since they saw a beauty in it; and they would be sooner followed than those of lower degree.'

To this she replied: 'If we should dress ourselves plain, people would gaze at us, call us Quakers, and make us the subject of their discourse; and we cannot bear to be made so particular.'

I answered: "The cause is so good, being that of Truth and virtue, if you will espouse it heartily upon its just foundation, a few of you would put out of countenance with a steady and fixed gravity, abundance of the other side, who have no bottom but the vain customs of the times; and you will find a satisfaction in it, an overbalance to all you can lose, since the works of virtue and modesty carry in them an immediate and perpetual reward to the worker."

This seemed not unpleasant, being said in an open freedom; ^bbut they all alleged the example of our own young women in London and Bristol, as an obstacle.

I observed that "those among us who take such liberties, go beside their profession, to which they are a dishonour, and a daily and perpetual exercise to us; and I hope you will not look at the worst, since amongst us every where, you may find better examples."^b

On the the 19th I was at Limerick ; being the first day of the week the meetings were crowded and things opened well ; but the greatest part having no want of Truth, but being drawn by curiosity, I had not so much satisfaction there as in some other places, where the people's coming had a better inducement. They had conceived a notion, as I heard, that I was for high church and the Pretender ; the reverse to my sentiments on these affairs : but so far as my thoughts have been employed on them, and that is as little as most men, I have ever left those things to Providence, being content with what the Lord orders therein, without murmuring or meddling ; and this has been productive of great peace to me ever since the beginning of the Revolution.

After this I was at several more meetings at Limerick to a good degree of satisfaction : things opened well on several points, especially concerning freedom from sin in this life, and the necessity of it : in which " I urged the catechism of the church of England, and the great vows and promises therein mentioned ; that the composers of it, either believed the possibility of this attainment, or they did not ; if they did, then they taught a perfection higher than ever we had done : viz. " That men may live from their infancy to the day of their death, even if they live to a great age, and never sin :

for he that renounces the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh; keeps God's holy will or law, and commandments, and walks in the same all the days of his life; and finally believes all the articles of the Christian faith, never sins or errs in faith or practice. But if they did not believe the attainment, and yet enjoined and promised the thing, then they committed great sin in so doing: for what is not of faith is sin. But alas! though despising the covenant of grace, they have thus invented to themselves a covenant of works which they have not kept, being by their own confession, miserable sinners, leaving undone those things they ought to have done, and doing those things they ought not.' ”

“ I directed them therefore to God's covenant of Light, and to that grace which came by Jesus Christ, which they mention in their catechism, though they regard it not in practice, but commonly dispute that no man can be free from sin in this life; yet that is the only means to attain such freedom, and perform those vows; which would be exacted in a day that was hastening over all nations, when all must give an account before the great Judge of all the world, and every one be rewarded according to his works.”

“ All this they seemed to bear with patience;

but in rejecting purgatory as a satanic invention to render poor weak mortals secure in their sins in vain hopes of purification after death, and thus elude the end of the coming of Christ ; which was to destroy the works of the devil, to finish sin, put an end to transgression, and bring in everlasting righteousness, some of the papists went out of the meeting, being prejudiced against what is good and true ; and encouraging the slavery of sin, satan, and priestcraft to the end of the world ; which God will disappoint, and destroy by the brightness of his coming and glory, now advancing as the rising sun through the thickest darkness ; and none shall be able to hinder it.

On the 28th I was there again ; and the meeting being more select, it was very open to Friends ; and the Lord gave us a baptizing season of his love together ; and things ended here to general satisfaction. Having had a kind invitation by my brother and sister to their house at Bilboa, I went thither accompanied by Joseph Phelps, George Pease, and my cousin Charles Story, one of the prebends of Limerick. This was an uncommon mixture, but no occasion of offence was given or taken on any hand : my sister was a person of a good natural temper and very discreet, and my brother also well pleased with our company. He

showed us his deer, park, and some of his fields. The two Friends went back to Limerick; but I staid till the first of 7th month, when my brother went with me about five miles, to the house of ——— Waller, where the same Friends met me; and that evening we went within five miles of Birr, and had a large meeting next day, but not very open. From hence I proceeded to Birr, Greenough, Old Castle, and other places, having meetings to good satisfaction.

On the 22nd I was at the six weeks meeting at Grange, to which some strangers came; and among others one Moses Cleck, who had received his education at Glasgow, and been a preacher in good repute among the Presbyterians: but having fallen in with one of our meetings providentially some years before, was reached by Truth, under the ministry of Hugh Hamilton, and afterwards by John Salkeld, though he still continued in his old way till the week before this, when he had declined his ministry and left them; though they had taken great pains to reclaim him, and offered him his choice of several parishes or places, but in vain: for he owned himself convinced of Truth, as professed by us in many things; though not in all at that time. We had a good meeting; but taking exceptions at some things I delivered after the meeting, he discoursed with me upon

them; and I explained them fully, so that all ended well.

On the 30th I came to Lurgan, where I staid a few days, being a little wearied with my journey and service, and willing to take some rest, especially where I found the most service. On the 7th of 8th month I was at the meeting at Grange, by Charlemount, which was a large and an open good meeting; I had a long time in it, and many things were fully and clearly opened; after which I was as easy and much comforted, as at any hitherto in Ireland.

On the 13th I was at the Province meeting at Lurgan; it was large and open. I had some time after the meeting for business; which was satisfactory to all, being concerning my own experience in the time of my conviction, and the satisfaction I had in secret in these meetings for business, before I found myself at all qualified to act in them; which was not till my peace began to lessen by reason of my aversion and neglect; for if I could have had peace and enjoyment of the good presence of the Lord, without either preaching, or answering the concerns incumbent on me from Him, in matters of discipline and affairs of the church, I had much rather never have meddled in it; observing the tempers of some men professing Truth, and what spirits they are of, for the most

part, who are to be dealt with in it. And that though the discipline now in use in the church, was of God, through the openings of his wisdom, and dictates of his Spirit; yet it may be said now of discipline, as Paul personating that state, said of the law: "The law is spiritual, holy, righteous, just, and good; but I am carnal, sold under sin."

The discipline is settled to great and glorious ends; but as satan regards not what is the law, if he can be judge to prevent it, so, even in this age, the mystery of iniquity has so wrought as that ungodly men, in some places, have advanced themselves into the seat of judgment, whose spirits and ways merit judgment and condemnation; who by that means being unseen of some and awing others, turn the edge of judgment backwards, and prevent all right; put truth for error, and error for truth; which being the highest abomination and indignity to the Lord, He will shortly arise every where, to the discovery and overthrow of all such, with their evil work, throughout the world.

The Province meeting at Lurgan being over, on the 15th I proceeded on my journey, and on the 18th had a meeting at Ralphryland. After notice was given the people seemed inclinable to come; but some of the professors of religion not only prevented those of their own sect, but

encouraged rude boys to disturb the meeting, by making a noise and throwing dirt and stones near the door. Our peace nevertheless remained in us; and we were comforted in the Lord; and, after awhile, John Turner of Lurgan, being there, went out with some other Friends into the street, there being many people in the shops and houses, as near the meeting as they could; and I went after him, having the same thing also in my mind. He stood by the end of a house which had a view several ways, with some shops and houses on the opposite side, and there he preached to them a pretty while; and by the time he had done we had a far greater auditory than the meeting-place could have contained. After him I stood up, and then the Friends came to us there out of the meeting, and I had a full time among them. But all the time we spoke to them, the boys made a noise and threw stones, dirt, and turfs; and though at times some of the people would reprove them and drive them off, yet others gave countenance, and encouraged them; and some who by the distance they stood, must be stronger than boys, threw turf and stones among us over a house, standing out of sight behind it most part of the time; one stone hitting me on the right breast, but falling dead did little harm. This manner of throwing stones, if any had been killed, would

have rendered the thrower guilty of murder by the law of England; yet the Lord preserved us from their violence, so as no great harm was sustained by any of us.

This opportunity being over, after a full and open time among them, we retired to the meeting, where some of the people came, and we had further service there; but the work of that spirit of envy was not yet at an end; for some renewed their disturbance, and one fellow came into the meeting with water, and in a scoffing manner said: "The preacher must needs be very dry by much speaking, here is water for him;" and seemed to intend to throw it among us by some motion he made; but a person in the meeting turned him out and some boys also that were with him; and at last things ended peaceably, and we were generally comforted.

On our going out of the town, the rabble of boys followed us along, stoning us and saying: "We will drive them out of the town like dogs." Upon which I rode back till I met with some of the inhabitants, and told them we understood the meaning of all that, and where to place it; not only on those poor children, who were thus depraved and ruined by their wicked leaders and abettors, for we were certainly informed that they had hired them, by giving

them money for that evil service of them and satan; and therefore they must answer for it in time.^c

We next had meetings at Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Dublin, Timaho, Edenderry, Ballytore, and Castledermont. On the 7th of 9th month we returned to Dublin and were at the half year's National Meeting. All the affairs of it were carried on with great ease and unity, and in much sweetness. Finding an openness at Dublin, and many people of divers sorts frequenting our meetings, especially in the afternoon, I staid there till the 20th of 10th month, and had services of several kinds.

On the 22nd, being the seventh day of the week, we went to the Province meeting at Carlow; which held that day and the day following, and was a good open meeting. On the 25th I had a meeting at Killionore, which being the day commonly called Christmas, there were a pretty many strangers present, and the Lord was with us to our comfort. At this meeting it was upon me to set forth the Word of God made flesh or appearing in the flesh, born of the Virgin Mary, sent to the Jews in that manifestation according to the foreknowledge, purpose, and promise of God; though they, save a remnant of them, rejected and crucified Him: and yet at the same time were

magnifying Moses, and garnishing the tombs and sepulchres of the Prophets, boasting themselves to be of them, but refusing the Son of God Himself, Lord of all the Prophets. And that even so now, the nominal Christians of several notions, whilst they keep feasting, under pretence of honour to Christ, in commemoration of his birth, behave themselves so as rather to represent a triumph of sin and satan; rejecting his Divine Light and grace in themselves; crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh by wicked works; in which they abounded, especially at that period. It was a good meeting and ended to satisfaction.

On the 30th we were at the monthly meeting at Lamb's Town, which was large, consisting of several neighbouring meetings. In the beginning of it heaviness attended, the ears of the people being outward for words; but the Lord condescended to us; and was pleased to appear after some time, and the way of Truth was opened clearly and fully; and many were reached, Truth being over all.

On the third-day following the 1st of the 11th month, I went to a meeting at Wexford, which was large and open, and therein I had to declare to the people the abominations of Ireland in her different parties, covering her fields with the blood of one another; the inconsistency

of this, with the nature of that love through which Christ died for all, whilst yet enemies; the ingratitude of Ireland to the Lord for her many deliverances; and the threatnings of the Lord of further punishments yet to come in case of continuance of wickedness, by the sword, pestilence, fire, and famine; in the delivery whereof all were bowed, and the meeting concluded in a weighty frame.

On the 4th of 11th month I had a meeting at New Ross, at which were many of the inhabitants. The Lord seasoned my heart with his grace, and renewed his Holy Spirit in me, for I had been somewhat low in my mind that day.

On the 6th being first-day, I was at their meeting at Waterford, which was open and comfortable, many being bowed under the blessed Truth, and some sweetly broken and melted; and a comfortable time the Lord gave us, to his praise. In the afternoon we had a large meeting, many strangers being present, and things opened fully, and with good authority. I had something to say about transubstantiation, and the unprofitableness of such eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ, if really true, which I could not grant but oppose.

I attended several more meetings at this

place, to satisfaction. In one of them I was concerned to open to the people that called the apostle's creed, as to the article: "He descended into hell." I took exceptions to it thus: "His being dead and buried, sets forth He was in the state of the dead; and his descending into hell, as they suppose, cannot mean He tasted of the state of the damned; which does not agree with what He said to the thief upon the cross: viz. 'To day shalt thou be with me in paradise.' The word thou, respecting the thief, being intended of his soul only; for his body was broken and buried, or disposed of after the manner of criminals, and was not in paradise; and the word Me, respecting Christ, must intend his holy and innocent soul, in an inseparable union with the Divine Word, for so it was from the beginning, to be in paradise, at the same time when the body lay dead in the sepulchre; and since the body was in the grave, and the soul in paradise, what was there of Christ to be in hell? Which I recommended to their further consideration."

Another point also fell in my way: viz. Predestination, wherein it is said: "That God from all eternity, hath decreed some men and angels unto life and salvation, and others unto damnation or destruction; and the number is so certain and definite, that not one can be

added or diminished." Upon this I thus remarked, among other things; that there is a contradiction in the terms in which it is laid down: for the act of the Divine will, moving to a decree, must have a beginning, in order to effect that decree; and therefore cannot be from all eternity, or without beginning, which is all one. And if God had at all made such a decree, whether before or since the world began, he had not then left any room for that saying: "As I live saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." *Ezek. xxxiii. 11.* But so the Lord hath said long since the world began, and since the time of the supposed decree; and therefore He had not made any such before at all.

Again, when God, by his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, offered salvation to the people of the Jews, especially at Jerusalem, and they, most of them refusing it, at last he wept over them, saying: "O Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not!" *Matt. xxiii. 37.* Now if God had decreed these to destruction, why did he offer them salvation, and charge it upon themselves as an

act of their own will to refuse it? It cannot consist with any notion of justice, which God hath given to rational beings, that He should decree any to damnation; offering terms of salvation to the same persons, whom He rejects for non-compliance, when He, that is Almighty, hath determined they should never comply.”

After this I had meetings at Carrick, Clonmel, and Youghall, to satisfaction; and on the 19th, at Cork, was at their Province meeting, which was pretty large and well; it held two days. On the 22nd and 25th I was at their week-day meetings, consisting mostly of Friends, in which I had opportunities to speak to some things more peculiar to their states, than in the mixed meetings. ^d The first-day following being the 27th, accompanied by many Friends from Cork, I was at a meeting at Kinsale, which in the morning was not very large, yet pretty open: that in the evening was greatly crowded by people of all ranks and sorts, and many things were declared to general satisfaction; though errors both of Papists and Protestants were laid plainly open. The crowd was so great that many who coming late could not get in, and not being able to abide the cold, or stand so long without doors, went away. This was a good meeting, and Truth over all; and the people generally, officers, soldiers and others, were very civil

to us; especially the next morning as we passed the streets, wishing us well.^d

I proceeded from hence to Malo, and Charleville, and had meetings: and on the 9th of 12th month went to Limerick, accompanied by several Friends. Having had letters of invitation from my brother George Story, then Dean of Limerick, and also from his wife to take up my lodging at their house, I accepted it; and was with them during the time I staid in town. They were kind; but in a short time I found my spirit under a great load, which rendered my stay there uncomfortable; though things to outward view were agreeable. I at length perceived from some conversations that passed, they were under a deep prejudice against the Truth, being poisoned by the invidious and wicked writings of Lesly. ^eAs for instance, one of them in some serious and private discourse, commending the satisfaction to be reaped in prayer; and I in the mean time having an eye on the result and end of all prayer in a state of Paradise, happened to say: "It was true in all them, who addressed themselves to God in the spirit of prayer; but that 'tis much better to be in a state where there is no need of prayer; that which was once needful to be prayed for being now obtained, and become the enjoyment of him that prayed for the

same before he obtained it." This was wrested, as if I had said: "We, the Friends, were in such a high state in this life, as that we had no need of prayer at all." Again, I happened to say in discourse: "That as the apostles living long after the days of the prophets, and having the same spirit, saw some things clearer than the prophets themselves did, relating to their own prophecies, as saith the apostle Peter; so we in our days, having the advantage of nearly seven-teen hundred years time and experience since those ages, might see some things written obscurely by some of the apostles, clearer than they themselves did." This was immediately wrested to intend: "That we were wiser and had more knowledge than the apostles, &c." Thus perceiving what kind of snares were all around me, I from thenceforth conversed as little as I could, during the rest of that tedious and burthensome week I staid there; though in every thing else they made me very welcome. As they had mentioned those books,^e I therefore procured the answer to Lesly, written by Joseph Wyeth, and left it with them, in order that they might be better informed concerning us.

During my stay at Limerick, finding things thus with my relations, I was as much as I well could be in the conversation of Friends, as more easy and comfortable; my nearest relations

being to those who dwell in the Truth, though not otherwise related. I was at the meetings on first-day which were large, especially in the afternoon, many coming out of curiosity, hearing I was the Dean's brother. This was a cross to me, by their gazing and observation; however things were pretty full and open. I staid the week-day meeting likewise, and the next first-day meetings, being preserved so that they had no occasion against me.

I departed from thence and had meetings at Tipperary, Clonmel, Woodhouse, and Cashel.

† On the 25th we had a meeting at the town of Thirles, in the court-house; where came together a great concourse of people, it being generally a popish town; but the people were civil in the main, except some of the baser sort who were a little light; and many were reached by the wisdom and power of Truth, and well satisfied: but the curate of the town, one Thomas Sharp, though he did not give us any interruption in the meeting, yet in the mean time, put up a paper on the market cross, a copy whereof followeth, viz.

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“All religious assemblies which dissent from the established Church in this kingdom, &c. are schismatical and contrary to law; therefore

to go to a dissenting congregation for any other end than to oppose and suppress such a meeting is sinful.

“To go with a design to join in the worship of it is so; because this is to have fellowship with that which is sin, and partake in the iniquity of it.

“Or for diversion, because it is not lawful to make a mock at sin; and they are fools, i. e. prophane and wicked who do so.

“Or for curiosity, because this is in order to know and be acquainted with sin.

“Or for want of better employment, and out of amusement only; because no one ought to be so idle, or so ill employed, as to pay attendance to any thing which is sinful: this is to show a respect and countenance to it.

THOMAS SHARP, Curate of Thirles.’

After we went to the inn, I begun to write an answer to this paper; but in the mean time came the priest himself, and one Oliver Grace, a gentleman from the country, and a lieutenant of horse to our inn; and seating themselves in a room, desired to see me. I went accordingly to them, and two or three Friends with me; and after some civilities, we began upon the said paper. I observed to them, that all these supposed sinful consequences depended upon the

proof of the first position : viz. "That all religious assemblies, which dissent from the established church in Ireland, &c. are schismatical, and contrary to law;" which I denied, and put him upon his proof: but first, fully to establish the terms of his proposition, I desired him to explain the meaning of this "&c." For, as there was once in England a sort of men who swore with an &c. including pro or con, to be explained as they might think most conducing to their interest or advantage afterwards; so in this "&c." might be included many sorts of national churches in other countries, and some quite contrary to that now in Ireland.

He answered: "I mean the Church of England only."

Then I asked him: "How is that church established more than any other in Ireland?"

He said: "The clergy of Ireland being in time past met in convocation, agreed upon certain articles of religion, thirty-nine in number, which were afterwards confirmed by the king and the great seal of England."

I asked him: "How does it appear that this is such a church, as that all are schismatics and sinners that dissent from her? For the true church is hid with God in Christ, the ground and pillar of Truth, the New Jerusalem, the Church of the First-born, and mother of saints,

and built on Christ Jesus, the true Foundation, Rock of Ages, and Chief Corner Stone. But a church established by human authority, is the creature of that authority ; which the Church of Christ never wanted, nor will want to establish her ; being settled already by his own power, to his sole glory. And if schism and sin be marks of an irreligious assembly, pray then, why are they in England and Ireland so divided among themselves, as that one part is in rebellion against the government that established them, and the whole miserable sinners, as by law established? Can it be any schism or sin to dissent from, or to meet together otherwise than among miserable sinners?"

Here some of his company being rude and more subtle than himself, would have brought him off by giving ill language, and so making a confusion ; for they saw where it was likely to lead ; but he could not take the hint.

And I proceeded : "For if it were schism to dissent from a national church, why did they in Queen Mary's time, &c. dissent? And if that was a schism, why do you continue it? Is that the reason you are miserable sinners?"

Then he recurred to the sacraments, and said : "They that deny the sacraments and ordinances of Christ are schismatics."

I asked him : " What does thou mean by these terms ? "

He said : " Baptism and the Lord's supper. "

I asked him : " What baptism ? "

He said : " Water baptism. "

I replied : " If all are schismatics that decline water baptism you yourselves are so ; for sprinkling infants is no baptism : 'tis an error both from mode and subject. "

After some further discourse on Baptism, very similar to those on other occasions already noticed, finding themselves foiled, Oliver Grace began to be abusive, and I then left the room and retired to bed ; but the priest and his company staid drinking the greatest part of the night. ^f

Section XV.

Visits Kilkenny, and is imprisoned there.—Discourse on transubstantiation.—Returns to Kilkenny, and is again imprisoned.—Finishes his visit to Ireland at Dublin.

On the 26th of the 12th month we set forward for Kilkenny. That evening we procured a long malt house, which then and the next morning we well furnished with seats. The meeting that afternoon was disturbed by the churchwardens and constable, and I was taken out of it; but being released we had another meeting next day, from which I was again taken and was committed to prison; but I had not been long in the custody of the jailer before Anthony Blunt, the sheriff of the city, came to me and showed his displeasure at their doings; he called for a copy of the mittimus, which he left in my hand till he went to some of the justices to have their opinions and concurrence, in taking me to his house; which obtaining readily, he took me with him and provided agreeable accommodations, to the disappointment of divers. This I observed to be the Lord's doings, for the furtherance of the Gospel, and his own glory;

and the Lord was with me to my comfort, as my only sure help.

¶ On the sixth and seventh days came Friends from several parts to see me, and many staid in town till the first-day, being the 3rd of the 1st month; and in the afternoon we had a meeting in the sheriff's house; at which his wife a very good-natured, sober woman, and his family were present, with many of the neighbourhood. We had a good open time; wherein I had an opportunity to expose antichrist and his ministers; which I am apt to think went to the bishop's ears, as it did quickly through the town; the people wondering at our boldness, not knowing our foundation.

The next day, the 4th, I went to take the air in the late duke of Ormond's gardens there, and some Friends with me, and several people came to us; and among others some French Protestants, and an Irish papist. He seemed friendly and repeated some verses against such as seeming to be religious, aimed at nothing but promotion, and worldly honour and glory by it. I guessed what he was, and gave him the following lines, which he took on a piece of paper with a pencil.

Natural religion was simple first and plain,
 Tales made it mystery, offerings made it gain;
 Sacrifice and shows were then at length prepar'd,
 The priests ate roast beef, and the people stared.

1717.

He seemed pleased with the verses. Then I told him, some people's religion made them worse than their natural temper; which could not be right: for the end of true religion is an improvement upon nature, and restoration from the fall even in this life, and the rendering of men more sociable and safe; but that priestcraft of many kinds, tending to an evil end, had, as to great part of mankind, eluded all the means hitherto offered for the help of man, and made a prey of him, instead of effecting that aid designed. For though there is nothing more plain than religion in its native simplicity; yet the priests the better to effect their own designs, had invented abundance of lying mysteries to confound and amuse the people; and had persuaded them that offerings of many kinds were essentials of religion; which offerings were ever at the priest's disposal, and for his gain and advantage. And taking advantage of the natural propensity of the people to admire tricks and shows, which are of no value, whilst the cunning priests in whatever they differ, in this all agree, with feigned words to make merchandize of the people; and who should have them for their own gain and promotion, is the great bone of contention; which will ever continue till the people

receive the Lord Jesus, and turn to his Light and Grace as their true Teacher.

As we were at this kind of conversation, in came justice Warren, alderman Haddock, and —— Clarke, the collector of the king's customs, and some others; and entered into friendly conversation with us. In the mean time, came the mayor and alderman Connel, greatly chaffed; and their displeasure was heightened to see these persons conversing so friendly with me. Their business was to persuade justice Warren, alderman Haddock, and who they could besides, to join with them to send me out of the county, from constable to constable; for I becoming very burdensome to them, they had fallen upon this contrivance to get rid of me; but in this instead of helping themselves, they were worse; for as they advanced towards us, I began to speak to those persons with me above mentioned concerning the grounds upon which my adversaries built their structure, viz. upon a supposition, that the toleration act extended not to Ireland: but I said, they were mistaken; for all men by nature are free, till that freedom is taken away, either by policy or force. That these native rights and privileges, all Englishmen carry along with them into all regions of the world, where they settle under the regimen of the crown of England, now upon a very worthy

head, who declares for liberty to all his protestant dissenting subjects throughout his dominions the world over ; and that indulgence they enjoy every where but here. The act of toleration then extends to Ireland, America, and all the king's dominions ; being declaratory in its own nature, not only of English but also of Gospel liberties ; and which we now insist upon against the unjust force of such as oppose themselves here. And that this is and ever hath been the mind of the king and his predecessors since that law was made, is plain by extending that liberty and indulgence here, as likewise to all his English dominions. And not only thus, but the king has given us his royal word for his protection, upon several addresses on sundry occasions ; and particularly upon one from our last Yearly Meeting at London, the 26th day of the 3rd month 1716 ; and another since, from our last National Meeting at Dublin, to which he was pleased to answer in these words :

“I thank you for the assurance of duty and affection to my person and government, contained in this address ; and you may always depend upon my protection ;” I myself being present with many more, when the king received us with this first address in his own bed-chamber : so great was his condescension and regard to his loving and peaceable subjects. But it seems

the mayor and magistrates here think it their interest to insist upon an opinion quite of another nature, at the hazard of what may follow; for you may assure yourselves we are as jealous and tenacious, both of our Gospel and natural liberties, as anybody here can be bent to deprive us of them.

This being finished the mayor and his party showed a great deal of rancour, but could not help themselves; and immediately after the mayor and Connel made application as aforesaid for assistance; but instead of that the justice at once refused it, and told them he had done too much of this drudgery for them already, and would do no more; but would leave them to their own measures.

We heard things rising higher and higher, and thought best to withdraw and leave them, the dispute turning favourable on our side; and in the evening the sheriff told me that the mayor and alderman Connel, finding they could not have any aid of the others, were resolved as they pretended, to send me out of the town next morning by the constables; and that if I came again they would put me in the stocks. I told him I did not fear them; let them run the length of their chain; for though they thought to frighten me with their threats, I knew the laws better than they imagined: and

that they could not do it but by illegal violence.

The next day the 5th, the mayor was much cooler; and intending to go out of the town the day following to meet the judges at Wexford, being deputy-clerk of the crown, he took up the mittimus, and sent me word by the sheriff, that I was at liberty, and might go when and where I pleased; and said also, that he would not have done what he had done against us, but that the clergy, as one man, greatly urged him to it, saying, they had thought him a man for the church; but to find him so remiss in suppressing the Quakers, looked quite otherwise: and that for his own part he did not care what meetings we had; but intended to get out of the way of it, and leave alderman Connel in his place till he returned; hoping all would be over in his absence.

Upon this message I told the sheriff, that they had committed me publicly by a mittimus till the assizes, as if I had done some heinous crime; and as on the one hand I could not accept of a private discharge, so on the other this discharge was not legal; it ought to have been a liberate in writing under their hands and seals, or of some other justices: and therefore I remained with the sheriff; which

displeased my adversaries worse than before, and heightened their anger.

Many Friends visited me from divers places on the 9th, being the seventh of the week; and considering together of a meeting next day, we spoke to the same person about the place that we had before, and he readily granted it: so all was prepared, as seats, &c. and notice was given by some Friends to alderman Connel, now deputy mayor, and the justices, of what we intended; but he said he would disperse us again, and that we should not have any meeting there: however we went to meeting; and though I had some things in my mind to say in the meeting, before I found the proper time to stand up, one of the church-wardens came and began the disturbance; and soon after came the mayor's serjeants at mace, commanding the people to disperse; and the church-wardens took down names, and threatened the people with the bishop's court. Then I reasoned the case a little with the constables and serjeants; and they seemed troubled that they were put upon using us so; but could not help [it, being under authority. After awhile, having first made some remarks to the people, I went with them, and they put me in the jail the second time; but I was hardly well entered, before they brought William Brookfield of

Dublin thither also; for the meeting continuing after they had brought me away, William had stood up to speak; and some of the constables took him down and brought him to us.

We had been in prison but a short time, when the sheriff came and took us home to his house; where the other Friends came to us after the meeting was over; which they held, notwithstanding all the disturbance, till it regularly ended.

But the deputy mayor being come from his worship, sent for me before him, and seemed very angry; and asked me how I came to appoint another meeting, being in custody.

Then said the sheriff: 'Sir, the gentleman was not in custody; for Mr. Mayor took up the mittimus before he went out of town, and told me he was at liberty; only he would not go out of town till he himself thought fit, being free, as he apprehends, to go or stay at his own election.'

Then said I to the deputy mayor: 'These proceedings are very arbitrary: what have I done now, deserving of imprisonment?'

"Did not I tell you sir," said he, "that I would disperse you," for I had met him in the street as we went to the meeting, "and that you should have no meeting here?"

"'Tis true" said I; "but since there is no law

against our meeting, thou hadst no right to say so ; nor was I obliged to take notice of it being without law ; but besides, the Gospel must be preached, and God must be worshipped according to his own appointment, whoever will make laws to the contrary, or apply an unjust and illegal force to restrain it."

Then said one of the serjeants to the deputy mayor : " Sir, this gentleman said nothing in the meeting ; he was not preaching." He immediately laid hold on that to get rid of us, and so dismissed me. But before we parted I said to him : " Notwithstanding thou hast used us so ill, I have a secret apology in my mind for it ; but cannot be positive whether thou deservest it : and that is, I conjecture that thou dost not act altogether from a native spring of dislike in thy own mind, but art excited by some other person or persons, for some other reason than perhaps thou carest to express or own." Upon this he said : " I have no enmity against Friends ; but have upon occasion forgiven some of them fees, being register to the bishop's court, to the value of seven pounds." And so we were dismissed without any further conditions.

About three in the afternoon we went to meeting again in the same place ; and the bishop hearing of it, and walking in the Tolsel,

told one of the serjeants, if we met again he would have us put in the stocks till he came from the church. We being set, many people came to us ; and the Lord who never fails nor forsakes his own, was with us to our great comfort ; whilst envy and rage tormented our enemies. I had something to say, and had gone on some time, the people being greatly desirous to hear, and many still and satisfied with what they heard, when the constables and serjeants came again ; but so faintly and with apologies, that they could hardly touch me. But after some time, one of the serjeants named the bishop as concerned in it ; which I laid hold of, and told the people, we had not been without apprehensions all this time who was at the bottom ; but now they heard plainly it was the bishop.

After some further remarks, signifying “ That what our Lord said to his disciples : ‘ Some of you shall satan cast into prison,’ was now also fulfilled in us : for though that evil one cannot cast any into prison by himself, as he is a wicked destroying spirit ; yet as ungodly and wicked persecutors are excited, instigated, and hurried to that evil work by satan, he as the first mover is said to do it ; so that they might plainly see on what bottom they were who thus abused us.” The people, nay, even many of the papists who came there to hear and see,

were generally displeas'd with them; and the Truth reach'd them through our works and patience, and expos'd our enemies to the just censure of all.

The serjeants and constables taking me away, many of the people followed, calling out shame, and blaming the magistrates; but we desired them to avoid disturbance lest some advantage might be taken. And the officers became so troubled and ashamed that they intreated me to walk up to my lodgings till the church was done; but I told them I was in their custody, and could not go but where they took me. And they went with me to the sheriff's house: where they express'd their concern, that they should be in offices which subjected them to actions so much against their inclinations. The meeting continuing after I was brought away, William Brookfield had a good time in a short testimony among them; and though some constables were there, they stood without, as if they had no mind to understand or hear any thing: and the meeting ended in order, and Friends were generally comforted.

In the evening, the deputy mayor sent me word by the sheriff, that he would wait on me by and by at my lodging, about the afternoon's meeting. I replied: "That was not so proper;

but if he had any thing more to say, that required my answer, I would wait on him where he pleased." The sheriff told him what I said; and he sent the sheriff to ask me if I intended to go out of town the next day; and if I did he had no more to say; but if I did not go out, he would put me out.

I replied: "That if the mayor had sent to ask me that question, without any threats annexed, I would have answered him freely and plainly as to my intent; but was not to be frightened, being at my own liberty to stay or go as I pleased."

This the sheriff told him; and then he made the sheriff take it down in writing; which he did. The mayor then bid him set his hand to it; which he did: but told the mayor he would keep it in his own custody; and accordingly showed it to me. I suppose the mayor thought to frighten me by this. Then I told the sheriff, I intended to go out of the town in the morning, to take some meetings in the country, and to return there again at the assizes, in the latter end of the week.

Then the sheriff told me, the bishop was very angry with him, and so were all his creatures, for letting me have liberty, and had sent for him that morning; but he would not go then, lest the bishop might take some advantage, as if he, by not complying with the directions he might

give, did not regard him. As for us we did not fear any thing he could do to us: however the sheriff went not whilst we staid; which was till about the eleventh hour, I going to see several of the aldermen who had shown us countenance, and also Colonel Warren, before we took horse. We then went openly through the greater part of the town, telling the people on every occasion, I intended to see them at the assizes, as on the first-day evening I had, on being asked about it, told ——— Sanford, the Colonel's son-in-law, whom they had put into the bishop's court on this occasion.

On the 11th we set forward about the eleventh hour; and several Friends being in company, on comparing things, we found we had all had a share of the burden; but were very easy and comfortable in our spirits, concluding that as we had come laden thither, and left our burden behind, it was gone upon those who had opposed Truth, and would be heavier and heavier on them, till they sunk under it, or yielded: and so we saw the hand of the Lord in the whole, and rejoiced together in Him.^s

After taking several meetings, I returned in company with other Friends, on the 16th to Kilkenny, to see what they had to say to me at the assizes, to which I had been committed by the mittimus aforesaid; not thinking it

honourable in the Truth to take liberty by word only, lest, being absent, they might pretend I had given them the slip.

On our way we fell in upon the road with some persons going to town; and one of them offering some discourse about religion, I perceived he was a Roman Catholic: after some other points, we came upon that of transubstantiation. He urged the words of Christ, when He said concerning the bread: "Take eat ye all of it; this is my body which is broken for you." And again concerning the cup: "This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you," &c. "This is so plain and distinct that there can be no mistake in it: 'This is my body; this cup is the New Testament' &c."

I endeavoured to show him, that "this was a figurative speech: this bread signifies my body, which shall shortly hereafter be broken for you: and this cup; that is to say, the wine, or liquor contained in it, signifies, or symbolizes the New Testament in my blood: for if it were a proper speech, without any figure, many absurdities would follow, against both sense and reason: whereas Christ and his apostles suit their doctrine and miracles to both."

^h I further urged that it was a figurative speech for this reason: "Because he saith, 'this cup is

the New Testament:’ whether of wood, stone, earth, or metal, that cup, whatever it was, was the New Testament according to thy and your notion. Where then is that cup? If the cup be lost, then also is the Testament, if the cup be the Testament.”

This was a little pinching, and drove my antagonist to this reply: viz. “This speech of Christ hath two parts: The first is proper, concerning his body: but the second is figurative, concerning the cup.”

Then I said: “Friend, pray give me thy reason for the difference.”

“Because” said he, “it was impossible to drink the cup, but only that which was in it.”

“It is a good reason” I replied, “but holds as well the other way; for if that must be figurative respecting the cup, because of the impossibility of drinking the cup itself, to common reason; even so for the same reason, deduced from the impossibility of the thing, I justly conclude there is no transubstantiation.^h”

He said: “Christ told the people: that ‘Except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you.’ There must then be some way of eating and drinking to make good that saying; which is also very plain in its own nature, the flesh and blood in a proper sense.”

To this I answered: "That Christ did say so, and the people took him to mean properly and without a figure, as ye now do; looking upon the impossibility of the thing in the sense they and you take it; but when they were all offended and gone, He turned to his disciples, and explained it to them; for they seemed not rightly to understand Him: 'Will ye also leave Me? It is given to you to understand the mysteries; but to them,' the world, 'in parables.' What then was the parable, or mystery? 'It is the Spirit that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing.'"

I further added: "'That if therefore the bread were really transubstantiated, after the words spoken, and were the true body and blood of Christ; and if they even really ate and drank the same flesh and blood which then his hearers beheld, it would profit them nothing."

He said: "It is true, the flesh and blood by itself, without the Spirit, does not profit; but when we eat the flesh and blood together, we eat the Spirit also, and that quickens as we eat it."

I said: "This cannot be Christ's meaning; for He does not only distinguish, but divide, between the flesh and Spirit: 'It is the Spirit that quickens; but the flesh profiteth nothing. Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every

word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.' The words which proceed out of the mouth of God are spirit and life, as said the Lord Christ, who is the Word: * 'My words they are Spirit and they are Life;' which words the apostles knew by experience, to make them alive and preserve them, as appears by the answer of Peter at the same time: † 'Whither shall we go, Thou hast the words of Eternal Life?' So that this quickening is not by the gross and carnal eating and drinking here imagined, but by the receiving of the Spirit through the words of Christ, abstracted and apart from that holy body, and all other corporeity or body.

“ And for the further understanding of sayings of this nature, observe, that when the disciples of Christ were showing Him the temple at Jerusalem and the beauty of it, he said to them: ‡ 'Destroy this temple and I will raise it up in three days.' The temple at Jerusalem was the object of their eyes and subject of their discourse, which gave them just occasion as men, to suppose that He meant that temple; which they said was forty years in building, and could He raise it in three days? They wondered at his saying; but yet, in the sequel of things they understood afterwards, that He spoke of the

* John vi. 63.

† John vi. 68.

‡ John ii. 19.

temple of his body. Again in like manner, where He saith : * ‘ I am the vine ; ye are the branches.’ This may well explain that other saying : † ‘ I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, till I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom.’ Which can mean no other than as his coming in the flesh consecrated the way, and was previous to the coming of the Spirit ; so his drinking new wine in the kingdom of God must intend the community of the Spirit, expressed in the words of the apostle concerning the whole Church : ‡ ‘ We have all been made to drink into that One Spirit.’ ”

My opponent being weary of the subject, turned to something else, and said : “ No doubt you have a good intent in what you do in travelling so in the world ; but you must have some good considerations for it, as our priests have gold and silver ; and mentioned about three hundred guineas for that time.”

I told him, “ No ; we whom God had raised up, and qualified in some degree in this age, to that service, were advanced above any such mean, base, and mercenary considerations, as to take any thing from men for this labour ; which we bestow freely in the love of God, and

* John xv. 5.

† Matt. xxvi. 29.

‡ 1 Cor. xii. 13.

by his commandment for the common good of men.”

“Why,” said he, “the apostles were but poor men and wanted necessaries, and must have received of the people or wanted.”

“True,” said I, “but then they say: * ‘Having food and raiment let us be therewith content.’”
“And where that is really the case, such as are in want of assistance, we do not begrudge them that; but it is very seldom so among us; but rather with Paul we can generally say: † ‘These hands of mine have ministered to my necessities.’”

He replied: “But in case your friends, after some good sermon that pleaseth a great congregation well and generally, should offer you a purse of money, would you not accept it, being freely given?”

I said: “No; I hope it would be no temptation if so it happened; but it cannot be as long as they and I abide in the Truth we profess, that we should either give or receive in that way. I should be greatly troubled to see such a degeneracy, as to subject them to so great an evil.”

“You say well,” he answered: “and I am apt to believe you; but if you would not, there are

* Timothy vi. 8,

† Acts xx. 34.

many who would be glad of the offer, and would receive it with both their hands."

"I believe it," said I, "for there are too many mercenary hirelings in this age, who, though they pretend a mission to 'go teach and baptize all nations,' yet sit down where they can have the first maintenance; and never move till the voice of a better cry in their ears."

"There is too much of it," said he; and so we parted in friendship, with good wishes on both sides.

Coming to Kilkenny, it was soon known, and many were looking what would be the issue of things. My adversaries ⁱ it appeared had not returned the mittimus, and were willing to drop it, and we were advised to overlook it for that time; since we might in time have our meetings free; which was all we desired. But one of the judges when he gave the charge, saying: "It was treason in any to pull down or deface any public religious meeting house;" and I inferring and observing how much more it must be so, to disturb and abuse those met therein, some laid hold of it, and inculcated it among the people, who rejoiced at it on our account.

On the 17th, being the first of the week, we appointed another meeting in the same place, for we were for the same cause still, the liberty of the Gospel, without fear of any, and went

accordingly ; and a full meeting it was, and very comfortable and quiet to all outward appearance. But I had felt all the night before, an inward load, and expected something more ; and so it happened, for Patrick Henderson kneeling down to pray, in came the mayor's serjeants, yet as civilly as could be desired, and made no disturbance during the time of prayer ; and one of them went out pretty soon. A little after prayer was ended, I stood up and spoke awhile ; but had not got well into the matter on my mind, till the other serjeant stood up, and with great reluctancy and low voice, said : " I am sent of the mayor to command you in the king's name to disperse ;" yet quickly added : " but if you will not I cannot compel you, nor have any orders to force ;" and so went civilly away.

I proceeded in my testimony, many things opening to the state of the people ; particularly relating to the duty of a Christian, not to believe only, but also to suffer when thereunto called. After which I concluded the meeting in prayer. When the meeting was over, the officers were sent for by the bishop ; who, in the hearing of the judges, they dining there, examined them about the meeting, what we were doing, and what we said. They told him, " A good like black man," meaning Patrick Henderson, " was at prayer when they came in, and prayed heartily

and devoutly for the king, and him, the bishop, too, and all of them." For he prayed for all in authority under him.

Then the bishop asked them if I preached? and the church-warden said I did. Upon which the bishop tendered him his oath, it being me his great spite and envy was bent chiefly against. Then he had the act of uniformity, of the 14th of Charles II, in England, but the 17th in Ireland, brought before him, and discoursed upon it with the judges; he thinking it reached us, and would have had their opinion on it; but they were wiser than he, and said nothing, but let him take his own way. For they were staunch friends to the king's interest, and were our friends as knowing our integrity to the king and his government. However the bishop's rage and envy blinding him, if he could at all understand the act, he first gave a warrant and mittimus in his own name, directed to the sheriff of the town, to arrest and commit me to the common jail for three months, without bail or mainprize, where he intended I should lie until the full time was expired, without any liberty as before, if either by hardship or otherwise, for I was then but weak and tender, he did not murder me in the mean time. For he had, before I went out of the town, sent for the sheriff and reprimanded him sharply for letting

me go abroad in the town, upon my first commitment, threatening to have him before the house of lords the next session of parliament.

Our afternoon meeting this day was very peaceable, for now we had conquered him so far that none disturbed us; yet I found a secret sting as I went to the inn with the Friends from Dublin who lodged there; and we had been arrived but a short time, before I was told there was another warrant and mittimus out against me from the bishop. I then hastened to my quarters at the sheriff's house, where I expected it; and found that such a warrant had been directed to the mayor, and sent to the sheriff by him to be executed; but it not being directed to the sheriff he would not receive it, and sent it back to the mayor. Then the bishop, mayor, and alderman Connel, and some more consulted further, and found their error as to the bishop's giving a warrant himself. For all which the act requires in the case for which it was made is, that the bishop as ordinary should certify the offence, relating only to those of his own sect, to any two justices, or mayor, &c. and then they are to grant a warrant and mittimus; which now the mayor granted accordingly.

This warrant, the same serjeant who came last in the forenoon to disturb our meeting, brought to the sheriff's house in the evening,

but delayed the execution for an hour; and in the mean time some Friends advised with counsellors of their acquaintance, in town at the assizes; and some of them said it was in the nature of an execution, so that it might be more dangerous for the sheriff to give liberty, or let me be in his house than before. Thus things looked a little harder; for, not having read the act for a long time, and not remembering the tenor of it, I thought there must be something in it to justify their proceedings, or else they would not have done so. Hence I was resigned in my mind to submit to it for the Truth's sake; and was very easy, being in more danger of too deep a resentment of their base and wicked usage of me, than of repining at the loss of my liberty; for I had a view of some things to employ my time in, which would have made my confinement more uneasy to the bishop, who I now saw, as did every body there, to be the author of all this persecution, than it would be to me; for the Lord was with me.

After some time the serjeant came into the room, for we let the door be open on purpose, and served me with the warrant; but the sheriff said: I should not go out of his house that night, come on it what would; and so I staid there. I sent for the act and read it carefully, and saw they were all quite mistaken; for the act had no

relation to us, or our meetings or preaching; but to themselves, the priests and bishops only.

Then after awhile, I told the sheriff it was false imprisonment, and desired him and others to take down in writing what time I was arrested, because there might be occasion for their evidence. The sheriff seemed a little surprised at it, that the great bishop and his counsellors should miss it so far; but took account of the time.

The next morning before I arose, for I laid till eight being a little fatigued, several Friends had been with the judges, and they had given their thoughts freely how much this was against the mind of the government to disturb our meetings, and did not doubt but this would do us service in the end. About nine while I was at breakfast, came the same serjeant who arrested me with a message from the mayor, that he had taken up the warrant and mittimus, and I was at liberty to go where I pleased if I would accept of it. I told the serjeant: "He ought to send me a liberate under his hand and seal, and not think I was wholly at his disposal, to toss in and out of prison as he pleased; but had my remedy by law against him and them who used me thus."

Then also came several military officers to see me, and expressed their great dislike in their

soldierly way ; some of them among themselves, drinking healths to king George and all his loyal subjects, and, in coarse language, final destruction to the pope and all rebels. But I discountenanced that, saying, we did not wish hurt to the souls or bodies of any, though we were greatly engaged to love and honour the king and be thankful to God ; as we truly were, for the liberty we enjoyed under him.

A little after this came the mayor himself to my lodgings, to tell me I was at liberty ; for he had taken up the mittimus and destroyed it. I then told him : “ Since that violence by which my just liberty had been obstructed, was removed, it was now returned into its own natural course ; and if I could find it consisting with what I professed, I should consider of ways and means, how to do myself justice against such violent and illegal proceedings ; but as it was a wrong done me for the sake of my religion, I might probably bear it with patience for that reason ; being sensible enough of the advantages I had of my enemies.” He made very little reply but civilly departed.

After this I went to several places in town, to take leave of such of the magistrates as had been friendly ; for all the king’s friends were so ; and some papists were troubled, as working no good for them by these proceedings. Truth was

honoured and gained by all this ; and our persecutors greatly lost ground, and fell quite short of their wicked designs.

That afternoon about three, I left the town, most Friends being gone seeing the thing at an end ; and went that evening home with Joseph Firth to Ballinakill.

The next day the 19th, we had a meeting there ; which was not large, but a good open meeting, the Lord being near to comfort and refresh us after so much fatigue ; for many Friends from places round had come to visit me in my confinement ; and some or other were always with me, and several from this place.¹

On the 21st and 23rd, I was at meetings at Montrath and Mountmelick ; at one of them, some of the neighbours coming in, which I observe generally freshens meetings, many things were opened in the authority of Truth, to edification, confirmation, and comfort. On the 27th I arrived safe in Dublin, where I was kindly received, and was at the meeting on the 29th, which was fresh and open, and we were comforted together in the Truth ; which as the heavens transcend the earth, exceedeth all other enjoyments.

Hearing of a vessel going for Chester, and intending for the Yearly Meeting at that place, I took timely care to secure my passage in it ;

but the wind not answering, I staid till the first-day following being the 31st. The meetings were very large, and things were open and well, and the blessed Truth prevailed through Him who is worthy above all for ever.

The wind continuing contrary, I still staid in Dublin, and was at their third-day meeting; where I had some time, things opening to many states very closely; and I came away easy. Some came to see me before I went off, and among others captain Smith. He had been in military offices, but being under convincement, was at that time attended with great inward struggles; and having a commission for being a captain of dragoons then offered him, he would gladly have seen it lawful for him and consisting with Truth, to accept the commission and sell it, not intending to act by it; but upon some private discourse with him, he was more straitened about it, and was very tender and humble: we parted in love and friendship, he owning his satisfaction in that conference.

1717.

Section XXX.

Returns to England.—Yearly Meeting at Radnor.—On the Resurrection.—Visits William Penn.—Yearly Meeting in London.—Goes into Scotland.—His Visit there, and to his Father on his return.—Shrewsbury Yearly Meeting.

Having finished my visit in Ireland, on the 4th of the 2nd month, 1717, I set off from Dublin Bay about the second hour in the afternoon; and the next day about the same time arrived at Parkgate, on Chester river; but went not on shore till the evening, the waves being high on the beach.

On the 7th, being the first day of the week, we had meetings at Chester, which in a good measure made way for further service. The day following we held our meeting of ministering Friends, which was pretty large, there being some of both sexes from Ireland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, Wales, &c.

The next day the public Yearly Meeting for the north was begun in the forenoon, and was large and open; the Lord appeared with us to the glory of his own Name and comfort of his

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people, as likewise to the general satisfaction; for there were present some of most sorts and sects in the nation. The next morning some select Friends had a meeting of conference about the affairs of Truth, enquiring of one another how it prospered in their several quarters; when some comfortable and encouraging accounts were given. That afternoon there was another public meeting, at which were supposed to be nearly four thousand people; things were well, and Truth prevailed to general satisfaction and the praise of our great Lord; whose honour, and the good of his people, and of mankind in general, is what we aim at in all these things. That evening the meeting ended, we having increased from time to time both in number and openness: the people being more and more ready to hear; and several were convinced so as to come to meetings and own Truth openly.

Intending hence through Wales to the Yearly Meeting at Bristol, I went to Rixham, Delobran, Montgomery, and Llanidloes taking meetings; and was at the Yearly Meeting at Radnor, which was held part of the time in a barn belonging to the priest of the parish, which he had granted to Friends for that service: an instance of condescension in a man of his function; but being moderate, when they made the request, he said: "Since we preached Christ, and endeavoured to

reform the people, and aimed at the honour of God, he could not refuse it, though he expected censure for it from his own people." Some of the meetings were held in the town-hall by leave of the magistrates, the barn being too little and incommodious. There came several people of note, and a great concourse from divers places ; and a good time the Lord gave us ; for his blessed power was over all, and honoured.

After the meetings a certain widow lady, who had been at them, and was well satisfied in the main, desired some conference with me^k about the resurrection ; and I being willing to inform her, stated the matter thus, viz. : " In order to open this mystery to thy satisfaction, let me state and settle the terms. *First*, Of death, as it is applicable to the laying down, putting off, or departing out of these mortal bodies. *Secondly*, As applicable to the mind or soul dwelling therein. And *thirdly*, Of the resurrection of both, and how applicable.

" By the death of the body, I mean the cessation or departure of the soul out of it ; by which it is left in a state of corruption and dissolution, as we see by common and daily experience. And though the soul is of a spiritual nature, and immortal as to her duration, yet mortal or corruptible as to her true life and primitive state ; being capable of losing it by her own act, and

of departing from her first state of innocency and virtue, and yet of living in an animal and sensual mode. And this last being of the highest consequence, and, rightly understood and settled, making way for the understanding of what may be needful in the other, I shall first proceed upon it. For the better understanding of what I call the death of the soul, I consider her first state of life and what that was. Man in his first state as to his soul or mind was innocent, righteous, and truly holy in the image of God. For as God is the holy, righteous, just, and true God; so Adam was a holy, righteous, innocent, just, and true man; and as God is a Spirit, so was Adam spiritually minded: but as to his body, it was of the same mould and form as that of other men, his posterity and offspring.

“In this state the Life of the Divine Word and Son of God, was the Light and Law of the life of man, his Guide and Rule; through which Word, God gave unto man a law of abstinence from the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, annexing this threat and sure prophecy, that, ‘in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.’ So long as man continued in the faith and belief of this Word, he remained in his first state; but as he departed from his faith therein, and believed another voice, that of the evil one, then he died. But how? Not a bodily

death; for he continued in the mode of his being as to that, according to its first intention, living nine hundred and odd years, and had sons and daughters born; but as to his soul, though that is not so mortal as to be subject to such a dissolution of the mode of its being as the body is; yet, departing from the Law and Life of the Divine Word, it remains in a state of separation from that Life; which, after its kind, is a death unto it, and exposes it to real and everlasting misery. And this may be further collected from some other Scriptures; as,

“ *First*, Where Christ who is that Word, said unto Martha: ‘I am the resurrection and the Life; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead yet shall he live; and he that liveth and believeth shall never die.’

“ And *Secondly*, where the apostle saith: ‘We who were sometimes dead in trespasses and sins, us hath He quickened.’

“ In the first part of this saying of Christ, the word Life is explanatory of the word resurrection, that Life being the cause and power of it, and must intend a resurrection from the same death here intended, which could not be of the body, but of the soul or mind of man in a state of death in the body. For these words: ‘He that believeth in Me, though he were dead yet shall he live,’ denote a capacity and possibility

of faith in the very period of time of this death ; which a state of death and dissolution of the body will not allow : for man is then gone past a state of faith, or of beginning to believe to salvation ; and is concluded for ever under the effects of his faith or unbelief, which he had below. And not only so, but the Life here spoken of, is intended as an immediate consequence of that faith, as where He also saith : ‘ He that believeth in Me, out of his body shall flow rivers of living water ; and this spake He of the Spirit, which they that were to believe should receive,’ signifying the abundance of that Life of the Divine Word to be made manifest in all true believers.

“ And these words : ‘ He that liveth and believeth shall never die,’ cannot be intended of a natural life, or of any life designed to continue a believer for ever here, or to give him a translation into glory without a natural death. For the apostles and primitives were all then alive, and they all believed, and yet all died a natural death ; yea Lazarus, though once raised from the dead by the power of the resurrection, hath again paid the common debt appointed of God to all men. Have the words and doctrines of Christ therefore failed ? No, they are true for ever ; but not in a natural sense : for though the saints and just ones of God are departed this life, they are alive in God, through the work and mediation

of Him whom God had sent to quicken the dead, having believed, and obeyed, and obtained eternal Life, in and through the same Divine Word, whom Adam disbelieving and disobeying, fell from into death, and into all the miseries attending that unhappy condition.

“ And this resurrection as I have observed, is also expressed in these words of the apostle, as a thing already attained: ‘ We who were sometimes dead in trespasses and sins, us hath He quickened. Awake to righteousness and sin not. As Jesus Christ was raised up by the glory or power of the Father, so also are we raised to newness of life. The life which I now live is by faith in the Son of God.’ The faith of the operation of God which works by love, wrought by Him, the Word of faith, even the ingrafted Word which createth anew unto good works, and is able to save the soul.

“ Now as to the resurrection of the body, it being generally received already by the professors of Christ in every nation, we have never found that so much our concern to inculcate, as to oppose some carnal notions of ignorant men about it; and others, being interested against us as enemies to their filthy gain and ways, have falsely accused us as deniers of the resurrection of the dead; whereas we believe the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust. But as

to that forward and foolish question : ‘ How are the dead raised, and with what bodies do they come?’ as secret things belong to God, so we do not presume to explain it, or answer other than the Holy Scriptures have said ; but are satisfied in this, that ‘ God giveth it a body as pleaseth Him, and to every seed his own ;’ and are rather in the first place concerned how to attain the resurrection of the just and right-hand of the Father, through the life of Him who is the resurrection and the life, than to gratify a lust of knowledge of Divine mysteries, rather pertaining to another state, than fully understood, or to be at all known by the sons of Adam as such only, here in this world.”

To this effect I laid things before her; and she answered: “ Whilst we are low and carnally minded, we have ideas and apprehensions accordingly; and being used to these bodies, and unacquainted with abstracted ideas of spiritual beings, are tenacious of bodily appearances, till these apprehensions are removed by more Divine knowledge. For if in the resurrection we are to be as the angels of God, who are all ministering spirits, we shall have a more excellent mode of being than we can easily conceive in this life, or than can consist with any corporeity of any material form.”

She then asked me: “ Have you read Mr.

Locke on that subject, who I think has done it well?"

I replied: "I have read part of what he wrote against the bishop of Worcester, but not all."

What passed was to the mutual satisfaction of ourselves and some others in company. But before she retired, I understood she had been sometimes conversant with the bishops Burnet and Hoadley; and having a little book with me of the latter in vindication of the Revolution, I presented her with it; and after some more converse on some other subjects, for she had a general understanding, she took leave and departed seeming to be well pleased, and saying she believed we had been much misrepresented in many things.^k

On the 28th I was at their meeting at Haverfordwest, which was heavy. The matters which concerned my mind in silence, were the leaven of the kingdom, and that of the pharisees; their difference in nature, operation, and end; and the different states of souls at last finally centering in the one or the other. I had comfort in the Lord, but not much in the meeting; for some things were sharp and plain to the states of several. I had another meeting or two here, but found things at a very low ebb among them as to the Life of Truth, though some were alive. On the 7th I came to Bridgend, where I had a

meeting in the evening, at the house of Fluelling Jenkins, a Friend who having lately settled there among a professing people, had sometimes meetings, and many came in. Things opened much concerning the Light of the gentiles, and against that pernicious doctrine of predestination; by which their foundation was shaken, and some convinced who I hope will stand. This made amends for some hard times in Wales before: it was a good meeting, to the praise and glory of God and comfort of several. On the 10th I was accompanied by my old friend John Bevan to Pontypool, about sixteen miles, though he was above eighty years of age; we had a meeting there the same evening among a few Friends, which was open and comfortable. He spoke in Welch; and though I understood not the language, yet was much comforted in the Truth all the time; by which I perceived his ministry was from that ground: his speech flowed very freely, carrying a proportion and satisfaction to the ear not easily expressed. For though the languages of men differ greatly, yet the language of Truth, as to the comfort of it, is one in all nations.

From hence I went to Pontymoyle, Thornbury, and Frenchay, and had meetings. And on the 15th I came to Bristol, where I staid the Yearly Meeting, which was comfortable; the Lord's blessed power being over all, to the praise of his

great Name, and the comfort of many souls! On the 24th I was at their week-day meeting, which was also comfortable; and I came away in great peace and love with all Friends.

On the 26th I was at the meetings at Bath, which were in a good degree to satisfaction; from hence I went to Cirencester, and was at the Quarterly Meeting there. In the meeting for business a letter was introduced, directed to the meeting, from a person who intended to stand candidate to serve as a member of parliament for Gloucestershire, or to solicit for some friend of his: this I observed as unusual, and not of good consequence; and though some of the younger sort were pleased with it, the wiser sort were not so; and finding a concern on my mind to caution the meeting, I told them: "That¹ the apostle Paul on a certain occasion, made use of a Roman privilege on account of religion; and I thought it was not unlawful for those among us who had native English privileges, to use them according to their true intent. But¹ as our meetings are altogether respecting religion and the worship of God, and such things as relate thereunto, and not matters of policy or state, it might be of ill and dangerous consequence many ways, to introduce such things there, or in any of our meetings: several joined with this, and the rest were silent; all ending in peace.

On the 29th we had a meeting at Farrington, and next day at Bishop's Town, where some of the people came in ; but to me the meeting was very dull a long time.

I had to say : " That there had not been more mischief done among the children of men by any one thing, in most ages of the world, than by men's running in the Name of God as his messengers, when He did not send them ; who not only did not profit the people at all, as declared in the 23rd chapter of Jeremiah, but did much hurt by misguiding them : and though it might look strange to some, a meeting being appointed and the people invited, that I should say nothing ; yet as no consideration arising that way, ought to prevail with me to run in my own will, to speak of the things of God among them ; so it might be better both for them and me, to be silent than to do it : for though the apostle was come to so clear a distinction in himself, as to be able to say : * ' This say I and not the Lord : ' and again : ' Thus saith the Lord and not I. ' This ' I, ' without the Lord, having in many others done so much hurt, I would rather at that time hazard their censure, and what might follow from thence, than be too busy with the things of God, when he did not

* 1 Cor. vii.

concern me: for though the day before, and many other times, I had been rightly concerned from the Lord; yet it did not follow that I might employ myself that day, when the Lord did not fit me and require it at my hand, lest, instead of comfort, I should procure reproof from Him; and in seeking my own honour, should dishonour the Lord, and so become a transgressor."

Then recommending them to the teachings of the grace of God I sat down; and after a little time said: "I would not have any think, I have smitten at any of my brethren here who have been concerned in the meeting; I have only spoken what was singly with me, relating to my present state." After this, being broken in spirit by the income of the love of Truth, which reached several present; in a little while I was concerned in prayer, and the meeting ended well.

The next day we came to Newbury and had a meeting there, which was pretty large and open; and the day after, being the 1st of the 4th month, went to Reading, where those who had separated themselves from Friends, I found had returned, and become one meeting with them since I was there last year. I had an open time among them, and was much comforted. They received me kindly; old things being laid aside and not

once named among them, as I had before advised, in the mind and wisdom of Truth; through which I had been opened to that end.

On the 3rd I went to Ruscomb, to see our ancient and honourable Friend William Penn, still remaining under the effects of a fit of apoplexy, much hurt as to his memory and expressive faculty, but still living in the better part. From thence I went to London to the Yearly Meeting, which was large, and things in the main were comfortable; though as to my own particular, rather being willing to be straitened than to straiten any, I suffered much in my mind and spirit for want of opportunity to clear myself. At the meeting for business I gave a relation of my travels since the last Yearly Meeting.

On the 2nd of the 5th month, I left the city, having some other places before me, and that night went to Hertford, where I was at the Yearly Meeting; from thence I went to Hitchin, Baldock, and Royston, having meetings; and to Cambridge, where a meeting was held, to which many of the scholars came, who were generally wild and wanton. I had to speak of some qualifications both in preacher and hearer, necessary in preaching the Gospel: the teacher, as the oracle of God, being qualified by Him with understanding and power, not acquired by

the creature, but given by the Creator ; and the hearer ought to be still, sedate, and unprejudiced, free from enmity and passion, that taking things into his understanding, he might judge aright of what he heard. Something was said of the nature, end, and advantage of true silence, as commanded of God by the prophet of old, and consisting also with a state of glory in heaven ; with the difference between outward and inward silence ; the former from words and noises, and the latter from all evil thoughts, imaginations, and desires ; in which sin has its beginning in the creature, so as to be chargeable with it in the sight of God. Other matters of importance were declared among them ; and some were solid and affected with Truth : in the main I was well satisfied with the meeting, and so also were Friends.

After this I had meetings at Haddenham, Chatteris, Ramsay, Huntingdon, and Ives ; then went into Northamptonshire, where I had many meetings to good satisfaction ; from hence I proceeded through Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, &c. and came on the 31st to Newcastle, intending for Scotland. I staid the meetings here on first-day, which were pretty large ; and we were refreshed together in the Lord's goodness.

On the 6th of the 7th month, I went to Kelso, and on the 8th was at the meeting there ; the

next day I proceeded to Edinburgh, where I had a meeting with about half a dozen Friends still remaining, and some sober persons that came in. "Though this city hath been often visited and warned from the Lord by his servants, yet there appears not an inclination in them towards the way of Truth as professed by us, but the contrary, so far as I can see or learn from those Friends conversant among them; though some sober people there are, who in due time may come forward."

On the 11th I crossed the Firth of Forth, and went to Kenway, from thence to Montrose and Urie, to my friend Robert Barclay's; and was at the meeting at Aberdeen on the first-day, where there was a large congregation of people. I had travelled far in the good will and love of God to see them; and a little after my coming into the place, I was much broken in that love which reaches over sea and land, and engages in the greatest fatigues and labours for the good of souls; for whom Christ died through a never-fading love, not of man but of God also! I had a good season in the meeting, and several were reached, the Truth prevailing over all. After this I went to Kingswells, Kilmuck, and Inverury, and had meetings; on the 24th I went back to Urie with Robert Barclay, who had given me his acceptable company all this time. I staid

here some days being under the effects of a heavy cold ; and finding an inclination to see the Friends and people again at Aberdeen, I returned with Alexander Jaffray to Kingswells, and from thence to Aberdeen, where I was at several meetings till the 6th of the 8th month, when I was again at the meeting, which was large and open : many things were declared of great moment “ concerning the Law of the Spirit, and its strivings with the old world, and also with Israel ; as likewise with the gentiles, and now with the nominal Christians ; showing that all were guilty who neglected and opposed this Spirit ; but such justified as believe and obey, to whom the same becomes a ‘ law of Life, and makes free from the law of sin and death.’ This is that book and law written in their hearts, sealed with seven seals, which none in heaven, or in earth, or under the earth ; neither angel, nor spirit of man, nor emperor, king, prince, nor potentate, pope, prelate, priest, nor presbyter, can open or explain ; but the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the New Covenant, the Writer and Giver of this law ; whose ‘ law is Light, and his commandment as a lamp that burneth.’ ”

On the 7th I went again to Kingswells, and the next day to Urie, where I staid till the 12th, then went to Tayock ; and on the 13th was at the

meetings at Montrose, Robert Barclay and his son accompanying me some days on my return into England, till the 18th, when we parted with considerable reluctance: but as men are variously situated in this world by Providence, who separateth the nearest friends, our different concerns obliging to it, we were made easier to part, by the same that first made us acquainted in the time of our youth. I proceeded to Glasgow; and on the 20th, being first-day of the week, was at their meeting both forenoon and afternoon, and had a meeting in the evening at a Friend's house, which was as large as any of the other, and the people generally satisfied. On the 23rd I had a meeting at Garthshore; and on the 24th went to Hamilton, where there is now remaining but a very small number of Friends, poor and honest, and but one or two of the old stock: the meeting was open and comfortable, the Lord owning us together. On the 26th I went to Cumberhead, a lonely place among the mountains, and was at the meeting.

On the 28th I went forward for Cumberland, accompanied by my cousin Andrew Latimer. He took me to the house of one J. Williamson, his kinsman by marriage; with whom falling into discourse, he with all his might, maintained sin term of life, in opposition to the plainest Scripture, and the end of the coming of Christ;

perversely alleging that the apostle Paul, at the time of writing his epistle to the Romans, was in that miserable state of sin he speaks of in the 7th chapter.

I took much pains to inform him: "The apostle had, in the beginning of that epistle, set forth the general state both of Jew and gentile; that all had sinned; that Christ is the Saviour of all; that He saves all who believe and obey, from sin, not in it; that the apostle brings his doctrine of freedom from sin in this life, to a result or period in the latter end of the 6th chapter, and resumes the same doctrine in the beginning of the 7th, under another similitude, viz. of a woman bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth, but he being dead, she is free to take another; and then brings the same doctrine to a like conclusion in a few verses; and prosecuting still this doctrine, in the forepart of the 8th chapter, establishes this great point in these words: 'The law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death, &c.' where it is evident, that as a man cannot be in these two opposite states at the same time, so the state of liberty from sin was not only the condition of the apostle himself who preached the doctrine, but of many of the saints at that time in the Church." After all this, and much more to the same effect, this

person still persisted in defence of sin, as being most suitable to a depraved state, and the prejudice of his education.

On the 29th we went to Wanlock Head; and, in a few days after, arrived at my father's house at Justice Town, in Cumberland, where I found him alive and well, but blind; being about eighty-seven years of age. I staid some days with him; and on the 3rd of the 9th month went to the Border meeting, which was pretty large and open, several of the ancient Friends being still alive. ^m That evening I was again at their evening meeting, and that night lodged at Righead with my old friend and kinsman Christopher Story, and the next day returned to my father's at Justice Town.

On the 6th I went again to their week-day meeting. Calling to see justice Appleby and his wife, the daughter of counsellor Gilpin, they both went to meeting, he running the hazard of the act of parliament then in force against it. We had a good meeting, and things opened well; and they pressing me earnestly, I went with them to dinner after meeting, and the justice went with me after dinner to Scaleby Castle to see Richard Gilpin, the counsellors eldest son, a sober, good natured young man; and Dr. Huntington, a Friend, meeting me there, we went that night to Carlisle and lodged at his

father Isaac Huntington's, and staid their meeting at Carlisle on the first-day. We had a good and comfortable time in the forenoon ; but in the afternoon, satan, who ever envies the people of God, gave us some disturbance by those unhappy instruments and servants of his, Job Pearson and Isaac his brother ; who slipping out of the jail, which was kept by one not well affected to us, came into the meeting, and in the time of silence, used many unsavory, rude, scurrilous, and provoking expressions ; but none gave them a word again.

After a time, Dr. Isaac Huntington giving the governor a private hint of their behaviour, he sent and took them away. Waiting some time longer in silence, I had an opportunity to speak to the people, and to lay open the kingdom of Christ, the kingdoms of men, and the kingdom of anti-christ ; their different natures, jurisdictions, and ends ; the Divine and spiritual nature of the first, with the subjection of the members thereof in this life, in temporal affairs, to the second ; how far they ought, and in what they ought not to obey ; the great and good ends of the second, for the suppression of evil, and support and protection of the just and innocent, against the violence and oppression of the unruly and ungodly ; also the wicked and unrighteous power of the last, gained by the subtilty of satan in

ungodly men, who under the pretence of the Christian religion, destroyed it in all ages; having deceived the temporal powers, and made them the instruments of the greatest cruelty against the innocent children and subjects of the kingdom of Christ; till the Lord in mercy, is in these latter days beginning to arise, discovering antichrist, undeceiving the powers of the earth, and directing them to a more just and equal application of their authority, for the encouragement of the well-doer, and correction of the ungodly, &c. ^m

After this I attended meetings in Cumberland, at some of which the Pearsons and J. Robinson were disturbing; but Truth being near to help, we had satisfaction and comfort over the heads of these opposers.

On the 13th of the 10th month, I was at Great Broughton, at their week-day meeting; but not having been at this meeting on a first-day for many years; considering it was the place where I first knew Friends to be the people of God, I was willing to have a little more time among them; I therefore staid till the 15th, and was at the meeting in the forenoon, which was open and well; but not many strangers being present, and desiring to see as many of the people as I could, an evening meeting was appointed, which was large, and things opened clearly to general satisfaction. The next day I went to Whitehaven,

and alighting at an inn, had an invitation by justice Gilpin to lodge at his house, which I accepted of, and was kindly entertained; but not being able to procure a convenient place for a meeting in the town, we had one appointed at our Friend John Nicholson's, about a mile distant; to which came many of the town's people, and also the justices wife and several of their family. James Dickinson also met me there, and we had a good opportunity among them: the power and presence of the Lord was with us, and the people were generally satisfied, and several tendered. I returned to my lodging in the evening, and went from thence to West-side, or Crossfield meeting; but inclining to see my old Friends at Whitehaven again, I came back and visited divers, meeting with respect among them.

After this I was at many meetings in these parts, and at Newcastle, North Shields, and Sunderland, being favoured with good and open times. ⁿ On the 4th of the 12th month, I was at their meeting at Ayton, which was open and comfortable; and that evening called to see ancient Maurice Lisle, then priest of Kildale, to which I had several inducements. First, his eldest son of the same name, having come over into Pennsylvania, and having been my clerk for about four years, had been convinced in the time,

and was now among Friends there. Secondly, this Maurice, the father, had all along been civil and tender to Friends in his way; not sueing, nor imprisoning any for his parish wages, as has been too common in others of his profession, and still is in this nation. He and his family kindly received my visit, and we parted in pretty open friendship; and that night I went with Simon Yeile to his house near Gisborough. On the 5th I was at Gisborough, where the meeting was not large; but Truth was exalted over all, and we were comforted together; and several of the town's people coming in, were quiet, and some of them pretty tender.^a

On the 9th of the 12th month, I was at the meeting at Whitby, which is large, there being a fine body of Friends in that place; I had several good openings among them, and the testimony of Truth had a free passage. They have two week-day meetings, which I found open and comfortable. I staid till the first-day following, and was at the meetings, which were likewise open. From hence I proceeded to Staintondale, Scarborough, &c. taking meetings. On the 28th I was at Hull; the number of Friends here is but small; but notice being given to some of the people, the meeting was pretty full, and things opened largely, both for the encouragement of the faithful, and rebuke of the

backsliders ; especially the unfaithful, concerning tithes, as a main branch of the testimony of Truth in our day, against antichrist and his ministers: for which I heard afterwards there was too much reason in these parts.

On the 2nd of the 1st month, 1718, I went to Beverley, where we had a large meeting and very open, many being reached by the power of Truth. On the 4th I went to an appointed meeting at North Cave, where came people of several societies, as Papists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, &c. Things opened largely, and the Lord gave us a good and comfortable time. On the 6th I had a meeting at Cotness, not large, nor much in the flowing of life, but some things of great moment were moving: as, “Of the rise of antichrist in the apostles’ days, his progress in the same sort of ministers, his height in the papacy, and approaching downfall in the same, and in all others the like, in all lands and in all forms—the Truth and its testimony and followers persecuted in this land from the beginning—the great reward and triumph of its faithful witnesses, and the mean and base spirits of those who were visited and were unfaithful; and their reward of infamy and death.”

On the 9th, being the first-day of the week, I went to Rawcliff, where the meeting was large and open, there being Friends from several

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other meetings, and some strangers. On the 11th and 12th I had meetings at Selby and Pontefract; the last was small, there being but few Friends and some of them young, and not much acquainted with the work of Truth, as is too much the case in most other places; but being preserved pretty generally from the grosser evils of the world, and keeping orderly, there is good ground of hope the Lord will effectually reach them in his own time; as He hath already blessed many of them with the knowledge of his way and Truth, to the comfort of their own souls, and all that are concerned with them.

On the 13th I was at a meeting at Wakefield, where we had some disturbance from a rude sort of people who came in; but Truth being in dominion, they could not live under the cutting reproofs of it, but retired, and then we had a good season; upon enquiry, I found they were scholars belonging to a school in the town, with some others their abettors; which gives me occasion to observe: "That we have but a sorrowful prospect of this rising generation, to see the youth so corrupted, especially at the colleges and schools in the three kingdoms, generally speaking, where young men have the rudiments of that learning and education, which should qualify them for the services of their own families and their country. Hence arise the great

mischiefs in church and state, in all the offices and officers, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; in pride, in covetousness, in emulation, strife and envy; in lust of dominion, pre-eminence and rule, to that degree that the whole body of the people of England is thereby in great danger of utter ruin; which surely will come, if they continue to neglect so great salvation, as the Lord in infinite mercy yet continues to offer them; in sending forth his Light and Truth so freely and plentifully among them: in which He will be clear in that day, when their great sins will make their deep humiliation so necessary to them."

From hence I went to Leeds, York, and Gildersome; and on the 30th to Kendal to the Yearly Meeting there, which was large and satisfactory. After this I went to Lancaster, Penketh, Frenchay, Newton, Namptwich, and to the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury, which held several days. ° There were several ministering Friends present; as Aaron Atkinson from Leeds, John Fallowfield from Hertford, Daniel Bell from London, Gilbert Thompson from Penketh, &c. And such meetings being new there, a multitude of people of all ranks flocked thither from one day to another; and the Lord was evidently with us, and opened many excellent Truths of the Gospel to general satisfaction;

and Truth was over all, the meeting being preserved in a good decorum from first to last. °

On the last day of the meeting,* in the forenoon, I had a large open time. One thing happened somewhat remarkable in it: for, as I was concerned to speak of the crucifixion of Christ, and to mention the incision in his side by the spear, whence issued blood and water; which clearly evinced He was wounded to the heart: and that this was for the sins of men, without which it would not have been put upon Him, I was so much affected that I could not go on, but being much broken, stood still, till my spirit was a little unburdened by an efflux of many tears; and the whole auditory was bowed, and generally broken and melted; that many confessed the Truth. After some time I went on further with the matter, which opened so fully, that I believe nothing stood in the way before all was ended. This was the Lord's work, and his hand plainly in it; for at first I was very weak to the sight of all, by reason of a cold and hoarseness, but my voice grew stronger than common, and clear; so to Him only be the glory and thanks, now and for ever. Amen.

* These Yearly Meetings which the author frequently mentions, were opportunities for worship, held in different parts of the nation for certain districts, or occurred at the time of some usual *Quarterly* Meeting, which latter, on these occasions, was not unfrequently called the Yearly Meeting.

Section FVH.

Yearly Meeting at Bristol.—Visit to William Penn.—His decease and burial.—At Bath the Author several times visits the Countess of Ranelagh.—Bridgewater, Bristol, London.—Visits the Earl of Carlisle.—Has several very large and satisfactory Meetings at Bath.—Froome.

After attending the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury, I was more unwell with my cold; and my voice was reduced to a whisper; but with care and a little rest I recovered; and on the 22nd of the 2nd month, 1718, I proceeded on my journey, and went by way of Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Stourbridge, Broomsgrove, Worcester, Tewksbury, and Gloucester, taking the meetings as I passed along; and on the 10th of the 3rd month, I reached Bristol, and staid the Yearly Meeting which was large and open. There was a large appearance of ministering Friends; and among many others I had some concern in the meeting, viz. "Touching the sins of the old world, and God's long-suffering towards them for so many hundred years, and their destruction for sin at last; the re-peopleing of the world, and their degeneracy also;

the dispensation of God to the Jews; their apostacy, and many sins and provocations for many ages, and their destruction likewise; and lastly, the visitation of God, his offers of salvation by Christ, and his Light and grace to all nations; the rise of antichrist in the apostles' days, not among the Jews nor gentiles, but among the Christians; who were antichrist, their progress, height, and insults over mankind, subjecting all other powers to themselves, perverting the good ends of civil power, and turning the edge of justice backward against the innocent, and indulging the ungodly; the approach of the final downfall and ruin of that power in all nations, wherever it has been in the world under a profession of the Christian religion; its duration being longer than that of either the old world or the Jews; that he cannot escape punishment for the ocean of blood he hath shed, having the same righteous and Almighty judge to answer before, and the word of his mouth already gone forth against antichrist, in many prophecies of his final and perpetual desolation: and the tranquillity of the nations and people after that, to the end of time, under the reign of the Lord Jesus, by his Holy Spirit."

On the 18th, I went ^p out of the city to a place about five miles off, called Parsbury, where the priest of the place had been preaching against

the king and government, and taken to task about it. The sober people were weary of him; and having notice of it, I found freedom to go thither, where also came many Friends from Bristol and places adjacent: and, notwithstanding the rain and bad weather, we were about five hundred together, in a large barn; and the Lord appeared in his love and wisdom; and opened many things instrumentally to general satisfaction.^p On the 19th, I went to Nailsworth to the Quarterly Meeting for Gloucestershire. Being weary I staid here a few days, and on the 25th, was at the meeting at Reading; from whence I went the same evening with Hannah Penn, and some of her family, to Ruscomb, where I found her husband still weak, but very open to receive me; which he expressed several ways.

Soon after this I went to London to the Yearly Meeting; and from thence to Colchester, and several other places, returning to London with my landlord John Crouch, who had met me at Chelmsford, on the 23rd of the 4th month. Having visited meetings for some time, and written and answered many letters both to and from America, Scotland, Holland, and the north of England, I left the city again on the 24th of the 5th month, in order for Bristol; and after spending a few days at Ruscomb, arrived at

Bristol on the 29th; and a few days after, received a letter to inform me of the decease of our ancient and honourable friend William Penn, who departed this life on the 30th, after a short sickness. I was much broken in spirit on reading the letter, considering how nearly we had been acquainted and united in the Truth; and a concern taking hold of my mind to be present at the interment of his corpse, I set out the same afternoon from Bristol, accompanied by his son John Penn, and came to Ruscomb on the 1st of the 6th month, where we found the widow and most of the family together. Our coming occasioned a fresh remembrance of the deceased, and also many tears from all eyes. We had a solid time, but few words among us; it was a deep, baptizing season, and the Lord was near.

On the 5th, I accompanied the corpse to the grave at Jordan's meeting-place, in the county of Bucks, where we had a large meeting of Friends and others, from many places: and, as the Lord had made choice of him in the days of his youth for great and good services, and had been with him in many dangers and difficulties of various kinds, so He did not leave him in his last moments. This occasion was likewise honoured with the Lord's blessed presence; and was a happy season of his goodness, to the

satisfaction of those present. That night I returned to Ruscomb, where I staid till the 10th; and being present at the opening of his last will, had occasion to advise the family touching their various interests therein, as I thought most conducing to equity, and their general peace and good, as became the honour of the deceased, and their relation to him.

I went after this to Reading, Newbury, and Bath. At the last place ^a on the 17th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting, and many people being come to drink the waters, the meeting was full both forenoon and afternoon, and things were open and well. Finding some remains of the effects of my late long journeys, in the heat of the weather, which had been extreme at times this summer, I had freedom to stay a little to try the bath, and drink the water; and yet not without an eye to the good of the people who resorted thither, and frequented our meetings there rather than in their respective countries, as being less under the observation of their neighbours.

On the 19th, we had an appointed meeting there, which was of some service; people of several notions in religion being present, who were generally satisfied.

On the 21st was the meeting-day in course; but having had a meeting as above, and no

notice of this being given to the people, they were not apprised of it, so that we had less company of them than before : but a good season it proved to those who were present ; for the Lord was with us in his love and goodness.

On the 24th, being the first of the week, I was at this meeting again, where came Friends from Bristol and some other places, and some strangers in town ; so that the place was filled both forenoon and afternoon : and the Lord was near, both to comfort his own, and also to invite others, opening many things to that end, which seemed to be satisfactory in general, by the sober deportment of the people.

Finding some openness, and the bath conducting a little to my health, I continued here yet longer ; and on the 28th, went to a marriage near Bedford, where came many strangers with Friends, and the Lord gave us a tender and open season of his love ; and the doctrine of the kingdom of Christ dropped as the dew to the refreshing of many, and to general satisfaction ; especially in the repetition of things relating to our dear Lord Jesus, and his sufferings upon the cross, for the sins of the whole world, and his appearance as a Covenant of Light and Life to all mankind. That evening I returned to Bath, and the day following was at their meeting ; which had been put off till then, several Friends

being out of town at the marriage aforesaid : this meeting was small, being out of course, and due notice not being given to the people ; yet a comfortable time we had before it ended.

I continued here till the 2nd of the 7th month, being partly induced by the concern I had for the countess of Ranelagh, a good natured and affable person, and at that time religiously inclined ; who having lodgings at my Friend Thomas Gingell's, on account of the bath, and I lodging there also, she had heard some report of me ; and being desirous to see me, invited the friend, his wife, and me, one evening not long after she came to town, to an entertainment she had provided for us. This begun an acquaintance, which was followed by other interviews on like occasions, which she was pleased to repeat.

This gave me opportunity, on her mentioning some matters of religion, to discourse upon several things, which I found not ungrateful to her ; particularly upon the subjects of baptism and the supper.^a The former she readily owned themselves to be wrong in, as practising a thing not instituted : and to confirm her therein, I produced her two old canons made in the time of the apostacy ; the first in the Milevetan Council in Africa, Anno 402, in these words : “ It is our will, that all who affirm young children have everlasting Life, which are

not baptized, to the taking away original sin, that they be anathematized." As by Danvers, p. 105.

The second, in the fifth Carthaginian Council, 416, runs thus: "We will, that whosoever denieth that little children by baptism are not freed from perdition and eternally saved, that they be accursed"

And this was first confirmed by Pope Innocentius and Augustine, with seventy bishops. These ignorant and presumptuous men, upon an imagination that little children are guilty of original sin, so as to be damned for it, invented these curses; wherein their language is, "It is our will," and "We will," and not a word of the will of God; as to be sure the Divine wisdom was never the author of it.

And as to sprinkling, instead of baptizing, I observed it was introduced by one Cyprian, sometime Bishop of Carthage, by the suffrage of the people; who from the danger and inconveniency, as he thought, of baptizing the sick, reasoned for their being sprinkled with water, instead of being baptized; and for sprinkling prisoners, converted in prison, for want of convenience of water to baptize them; and by degrees they brought it in for sick children, and then for all children. So that here is the proper and true ground of sprinkling and baptizing children, introduced in time of apostacy and blindness, and continued among the Papists till

the time of the Protestant Reformation. The reformers finding with it a great mixture of other things, as salt, spittle, cream, the sign of the cross, godfathers, vows, &c. they saw some of these things to be superstitious innovations, but could not reform the whole at once. They reformed as to salt, spittle, &c. but either could not, or would not see, that infants are no subjects of baptism, nor sprinkling the mode of it; or that the sign of the cross therein, with godfathers and vows, were not in any institution of Christ, or practice of the apostles, &c. with all which this lady seemed fully to acquiesce, owning freely, that sprinkling is not the mode, nor infants the subjects of baptism.

As to the supper she was not so clear, and consequently more tenacious, and yet with much modesty and condescension; but being too late then to go fully into that subject, it was declined by consent for that time. But before I departed from Bath, I had more conversation with her on these and other religious subjects; and found her of a very good understanding, and no way tenacious of what seemed amiss in notion or practice.

I went from Bath to Bristol, and was at several meetings there. On the 17th, I went to the meeting at Clareham, where I met with George Bowles, an able minister of the Gospel of Christ,

who had come down that way to visit Friends; and the Lord was with us: the doors were opened by the key of David, both of utterance and entrance; and it was a happy day to several.

After this I was at other meetings in these parts, as Sidcot, Posset, &c. and went to Plymouth and Falmouth, from thence to Key, Austel, Liskeard, and many other places; and at some of those meetings I had the company of my dear friend Samuel Bownas. ^s On the 28th of the 9th month, we had a meeting at Bridgewater, in a warehouse of Thomas Holwell and Joseph Ball, two Friends, young men, who had lately gone there to live. For a certain high man among the Baptists had been much disgusted with their preacher for letting us have their meeting-house the time before, threatening to withdraw his contribution from the minister; but the young man bearing it with patience, another of his hearers, who had been satisfied with the meeting, said, if the other detained what he used to contribute, he would make it up; so that they came over the other, and the preacher came to no loss, so far as I heard. But, lest the poor man might suffer for his good will and civility to us, we did not put him upon it the second time; hoping he will not lose his reward for what he did for Truth's service, though he may lose the favour of some of the angry sort.

The meeting was very large and open, and the people generally reached ; being, after some time, sober and attentive. The Lord gave us a good time among them, Samuel Bownas being also there. I have some hopes that the Lord will raise a people yet in that place, and thereaway to his own glory.^s

On the 3rd of the 10th month, I returned to Bristol, where I staid till the 4th of the 12th month following, having many good opportunities among Friends, and often among people of other societies, who usually came to our meetings on first-days. † During my stay here, Samuel Bownas and I took much pains to reconcile the Friends of Frenchay, to the body at Bristol, the former having set up a meeting by themselves, under pretence that Friends at Bristol, especially the men's meeting, were gone from Truth into the grossest evils ; though they would not bring the matter to a test by accusing any one individual of any crime whatever ; and yet they considered themselves as in the place of the righteous of former ages, and the Friends of Bristol, in the place of Cain, Nimrod, Nebuchadnezzar, and the heathen and popish persecutors, because the men's meeting at Bristol, could not see any reason for their separate meeting ; desiring them to let those meetings

alone as a thing unprofitable: our labours however seemed to make but little impression upon them. ^a

^a Here the editor of the present edition can scarcely refrain from adding, that when the enemy of all good once obtains admission for the infusion of his evil suggestions and surmises into any of our hearts, and succeeds in fixing them there, it matters little how groundless or inconsistent they may be in themselves, in order to render them extremely difficult to be eradicated; because in this state the mind is exceedingly prone to put darkness for light, and light for darkness; and thus raises a fortress for the enemy, which is impregnable but to the power of Divine Influence; and this holy power such minds are too apt to disregard, because its light tends gradually to show unto them that they have been in error: a conviction which they too reluctantly admit.

If these hints should fall into the hands of any who have been thus tempted and tried, may they be willing to consider that there can be no greater proof of our being under the safe guidance of the Divine Power, than a genuine feeling that *SELF*, that mighty potentate, is of no reputation; but is humbled as in dust and ashes before the Lord. On the other hand, if *SELF* is of high importance with us, we may be sure we are more or less under some dangerous mistake. ^a

From Bristol, taking meetings on my way, I went to London, arriving there on the 23rd of the 12th month, and I staid there, visiting meetings in the city, and parts adjacent, till the 16th of the 7th month, 1719. I was also at the Yearly Meeting ^u in which John Gurney, jun. of Norwich, a young man of good natural parts and distinction, though satisfied with the affirmation as it then stood, proposed for a further solicitation to the government, for ease also to the dissatisfied Friends in that case; John Eccleston, Richard Ashby, and some others spoke on that side. And whilst things run in that channel, there was a considerable glory over the meeting, and the peaceable and Divine Truth comforted many; and this peaceable wisdom prevailed with most of the meeting to assent and acquiesce. But as there were some particular persons there, who having more regard to party than unity, and to themselves and what they had procured and set up, than to the peace of the church; designing to set the affirmation as it then was, over all, and not have it in any other terms, they raised several objections, and a palpable cloud of darkness over the meeting, and a great uneasiness in the minds of many; which, after some time, being dispelled, and that spirit made manifest and repulsed, the meeting concluded on a fresh solicitation the

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sion of parliament, if things should
till the said session as they were.^u

One particular passage which happened whilst I was in London, I think proper to insert, as it fell out so much to my satisfaction.*

When the present earl of Carlisle was a boy, he was at that city with his grandfather, then governor of the castle there, and I was at the same time at school in that city; which occasioned my being admitted into the acquaintance and favour of this young nobleman. And as I had then a strong affection for him, it did not wear out all this length of time, notwithstanding the several changes both in him and me, and our differing circumstances; so that I had an inclination to see him, and speak with him, which I had not done of many years. Accordingly taking Dr. Gilbert Heathcote in my company, partly to introduce me, he being physician to some of the family and known to the Earl, I went one morning about nine, to his lodgings in Greek-street; when the doctor and I were called up into his chamber, where we found him in his gown and slippers.

* The whole of the following narrative is given in the present edition; and the coincidence between the feelings of the Yearly Meeting, and the disposition expressed by the Earl respecting the form of affirmation, is worthy of remark; though the wished for relief was not obtained till 1721.

The Earl received us respectfully, though I was then become an utter stranger to him; for he did not at all know me, nor did I presently make myself known. He ordered a couple of armed chairs to be placed for us, and bid us sit down by him. And after some occasional expressions had passed between him and the doctor, I being silent, with my mind inwardly exercised at the same time, and waiting an apt opportunity for matters of more consequence, the Earl and I fell into discourse after this manner.

“Mr. Story,” said he, “are you any thing related to the Story’s in Cumberland?”

“Yes,” said I, “Thomas Story of Justice-Town is my father.”

“Did you know Mr. James Appleby, a friend of yours, who lived on a farm of mine at Askerton?”

“Yes, very well.”

“I have the bad news,” said the earl, “to tell you, that he is lately dead. He was a good, industrious man, and improved that estate much since he had the management of it; and I think, your people are generally sober and industrious, and few of you poor.”

“We ought to be so,” said I, “for our principles lead us both to sobriety and industry.”

The earl replied: “The great end of the Christian religion, being to mortify and subdue

the passions, irregular desires, and appetites of men, I see no people in the world come up to that as you do ; but cannot apprehend by what means you arrive at these attainments. ^v1 It cannot be any thing preached among you that works such effects ; for I have been at some of your meetings, and heard some of you preach, but could not make any thing at all of it ; and have also read some of your books, but could not make much more sense of them than of your preaching : so that I am still at a loss what to think of you in matters of religion. I knew a young man in the north of England, whom, perhaps, you might also know, a brother of Mr. Appleby's, as wild a young fellow as was in England ; but, by some means or other, turning Quaker, was no sooner under that profession, than he became a very sober good man." ^v1

“ No doubt,” said I, “ but thou hast read the Scriptures, and mayest remember what Christ said to his disciples a little before He suffered : ‘ It is expedient for you that I go away ; for if I go not away the Comforter will not come. But if I go away, I will pray the Father, and He shall send you another Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth, which the Father will send in my Name ; He shall lead you into all Truth, and bring all things into your remembrance whatever I have said unto you.’ Again, ‘ I will

not leave you comfortless; I will come again unto you.' Here is the Spirit of Truth promised, which is no other than the Spirit of Christ; and is the same which was promised of God by his prophet, where he saith: 'I will give Him a Light to the gentiles, and a Covenant to the people.' And as the Holy Scriptures elsewhere testify: 'He is that true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world:' and of whom the apostle saith: 'Believe in the Light, that ye may be children of the Light; and, if children, then heirs.'

"Now, though we, of ourselves, have been like other men, subject to many failings and weaknesses; yet, it being given us to believe in the Lord Jesus, not only as He came in the flesh in that day, but also as He is the 'Light of the world;' we do find that his Spirit, as He said, not only reproveth us for our sins, but is also become our Comforter and supporter, as we have repented and left them off; and according to his promise, by degrees, leads into all the necessary Truths of the Gospel, and out of evil into righteousness; giving us all to experience the end of his manifestation, the destruction of the works of the devil, the mortification of our lusts, appetites, and passions, and to be created anew to good works, through Him, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Hence what difference there is

between us and other men, and between our present and former state, it is the Lord that hath done it and not ourselves; for we have nothing to boast of but the mercies of God in Christ."

Then, said the earl: "If the Spirit of Christ and his Light be all one, and that Light be in all men, why does it not work the same effect in all men? Why have not I power over my inclinations, as well as you over yours?"

Dr. Heathcote then said: "I was once in my time wild enough; I would have done fourteen exercises with any man in England; but since it pleased God by the manifestation of his Divine Light, to convince me of the vanity of these things, and the error of my course of life, through faith in this Light and obedience to its discoveries, I am now reformed and got over those lusts and appetites of many kinds, which once were over me; and as I KEEP TO THAT LIGHT, and not otherwise, I am daily preserved. And the true reason of men's being overcome by evil is, because they believe not in that Divine manifestation, which manifests it to be evil; but go on to act the same things after they see them to be wrong: whereas if men leave off evil when they see it, through the power and virtue of the discoverer, then they have further manifestations of that Light which discovers it, and greater power over their corruptions, till all be discovered, and

all be subdued ; and then there is a liberty and enjoyment in the Truth, which far exceeds all the enjoyments of this world, and a satisfaction which nothing else can give. And therefore if thou wouldest be rid of any thing thou findest amiss in thyself, thou must not act again the same thing thou hast once seen to be evil ; or else there never can be any reformation.”

Then said the earl, of his own accord, and without any thing particularly introductory thereto by either of us : “ You are a very useful people in the nation, and, I think, deserve encouragement as well as any in it. ^{v 2} I know your people are not generally satisfied with the affirmation ; because I have been often applied to for relief of such as have suffered that way, and have always done what I could to relieve them, and have helped many. But as the king and government look upon you favourably, it were better you were relieved by law ; and if you will move the parliament for further relief, you shall not want any help I can render you ; and, I know, many are inclined to favour you on that account. And what do you want besides this ?”

Then I said : “ We are very sensible of the good intentions of the government in what they have already done on that account ; but as thou hast been pleased to observe, though we are not

come at this time to make any complaint about it, we are not generally easy with it. And as the king and nobility, in some other cases, have been as fathers and supporters unto us, so we were glad to see their good inclinations still, and hoped we should not desire any unreasonable thing, there being one wherein we yet want your further aid; and that is, to be further relieved against the tyranny and oppression of your priests; and I hope the legislature of Great Britain will, in due time, take care, that it shall never more be in the power of the clergy to juggle the throne."

Then said the earl: "You would not have us I hope, break in upon the laws, and deprive the ministers of the maintenance the law provides them, at least till we can see as you see."

"No," said I, "we are very far from desiring any thing that may bring the least reflection, or any just imputation of blame upon any of you; but are as careful of your true honour as you yourselves can be. Nor do we desire to lead you into any inconveniency, or blame-worthy thing, if it were in our power; and so far are we from setting up any new craft, under any new umbrage, that we would have all men to see with their own eyes, and not to undertake any thing except on sure and certain grounds. But though the legislature, with very good intent, have made

laws for the more easy recovery of what you call their dues, these laws prove very oppressive to many poor, honest, industrious families : for so mean spirited are some of your country justices in divers parts of the nation, and under the influence of the worst natured sort of your clergy, that where the demand may happen to be but a groat, six-pence, or a shilling, some of them will award the highest fees the law allows, which are ten shillings ; which, though a small sum among you great men, is much to those who must earn it with the sweat of their brows, at two-pence, four-pence, six-pence, or twelve-pence a day. And, besides this, the former destructive ways of proceeding in the exchequer for tithes, being still left in the power of your priests, many of them decline the more gentle way which the law provides, and make choice of this, if, peradventure, they may at least ruin and destroy some of us ; which we hope may not be unworthy of the further consideration of our superiors, so inclinable to equity in our favour."

"Now," said he, "you say something ; which as you say, may bear some further consideration ; and I know some of your people have suffered by exorbitant fees ; for, as complaint has been made to me, I have relieved several on that account. But, pray, on this occasion, ' 2

upon what ground do you refuse to pay tithes? were they not commanded of God?"

“ We do not deny that they were commanded of God ; but they were made payable to the tribe of Levi, and located in the land of Canaan only, a country at the head of the Mediterranean sea, in Asia ; but, by the coming of Christ, there is an end of that law by which tithes were given, and an end of that tribe, though your clergy still pray for themselves under that name, the better to insinuate their pretended right : and the land itself where they were payable, is now in the hands of the Turks ; so that the reason of the thing failing, the thing itself also fails. And since God, by the death of his Son, the great High Priest and Bishop of the soul, hath rejected that tribe, and that service, and established a new one, to whom He hath said : ‘ Freely ye have received, freely give ;’ we do not find He hath impowered any of the princes of the gentiles to assign any maintenance for his ministers ; but as they have been deceived by the subtilty of the craft to impose upon mankind by laws on that account, so by that wisdom which in due time will arise among rulers, they will yet be instrumental to undo what they have done, and leave religion and the Gospel upon its own bottom ; which needs no other helper than its own Author, or

maintenance for its ministers, but what it commands; and they are really such, who labour with all their might to make the Gospel they preach without charge. So far are these from destroying the people for the maintenance of their bodies, that they have no other reason or inducement for what they do, but obedience to the calling of God, and the good of souls; whereas the end of hirelings, though supported by law, is their own advantage."

"Well," said he, "you do not like our ministers; but, after all, I think you want but one thing to make you a very complete people; that is to bear arms. v^s Pray what would have become of this whole nation the other day when the Spaniards were coming to invade us, if we had all, or greatest part, been of your religion? No doubt we should all have been destroyed or enslaved."

To this I answered: "It was upon this very political consideration that the Jews crucified Christ; for as He had raised Lazarus from the dead, it greatly awakened the people concerning Him, and many believed in Him; inso-much that the rulers began to fear, that if He continued to preach his doctrines among the people, and work miracles, the body of the people would follow Him; and the consequence of that would be, the state would not have

soldiers or people enough to defend them against their enemies. ^{v 3} For as it was prophecied, that, under the New Covenant: 'They shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks; and that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more:' so Christ being the Mediator of that Covenant, preached doctrines conducing to that end: 'Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you; pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.' And, to take away all suspicion of any disloyalty to Cæsar, or danger of the state from his kingdom, which was their pretence against Him, He said to Pontius Pilate: 'My kingdom is not of this world: for if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but my kingdom is not of this world.'

“Here He declares his kingdom not to be of this world, being Divine and spiritual, and that his servants will not fight. For if they love their enemies, they cannot fight with them, much less with their friends; and if they do good to them that hate them, they cannot fight with them neither; and if they pray for them that despitefully use them and persecute them, neither can they fight with them; and if they do not as Christ teacheth, they cannot be his disciples: 'For then are ye my friends, or dis-

ciples indeed,' said the Lord, 'if ye do whatsoever I command you.' Now, Christ laying the foundation of such a kingdom, which is not of the world, though in the world, and declaring his subjects will not fight, it is in this kingdom, which is a kingdom of righteousness, truth, and peace, in which the prophecy before mentioned is begun to be fulfilled; and of this kingdom Christ himself, the Prince of righteousness and peace, is sole King, Ruler, and Lawgiver; and which no way interferes with the kingdoms of this world. For Christ Himself, being born a Jew, and the Jews being at that time subject in some sort to the Romans, his paying tribute to Cæsar, gave an example to all his disciples, in all countries and states, and in all future ages, as well as in that time. So the disciples of Christ, though they may not fight, they pay taxes and tribute to civil states, as well by the example of their Lord and Master, as the doctrine of the apostle, in the the 13th chapter to the Romans; where he sets forth clearly, that civil states and powers are of God, and that their end is, to be a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well.

“Since then the kingdom of Christ is not of this world; neither is it national, but spiritual: and as it is not national, it cannot be supposed that any one nation will ever be the Church of

Christ, and so be subjected to the violence of any other nation; but God by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice, having ordained government and rule, entrusts it with whom He pleases; and the temporal sword, as well of civil magistracy, as military force, being in the hands of kings and rulers, to exercise as need shall be, they, and not the disciples of Christ must apply and administer accordingly, till by degrees, the kingdom of Christ the Prince of Divine peace, SHALL HAVE THE ASCENDENCY OVER ALL KINGDOMS; not by violence, for his servants can offer none; ‘Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord.’ It will not be by human force or policy, but by conviction; not by violence, but consent, that the kingdoms and powers in this world will become the kingdoms of God, and of his Christ: nor will the kingdoms and powers of this world ever cease, being God’s ordinance in natural and civil affairs, till the reason of them shall cease; that is, till all violence and injustice cease, and evil doing come to an end, by the advancement of Truth, righteousness, love, and peace, over all nations, which is the true end of the coming of the Lord Jesus, and nature of his kingdom here on earth.

“As the kingdom of Christ can offer no other violence to the kingdoms, or states of men, than that of Love and Truth; and his subjects may not fight, but pay taxes, customs, tribute,

fear, and honour to all kings, powers, and states, in all nations where they are chosen of God out of the world to serve Him, and bear testimony to his name; so neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, cythian, mahometan, infidel, or nominal Christian, can have any reasonable jealousy of the true Christian, whose practice is according to the doctrine and commandments of his Lord and Master Christ Jesus; and whoever falls short of that, ceases to be his disciple, and reverts to the world. * But to his disciples He saith: 'Ye are not of the world, but God hath chosen you out of the world: if ye were of the world, the world would love you, for the world loveth its own: but ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you. But marvel not that the world hateth you: for it hated Me before it hated you.' So that, upon the whole this nation is not in danger of the Spaniards, or of any other nation, by reason of our principle, or for want of our help in fighting; which we have not declined, because we durst not, or could not use the weapons of war; for many of us have been fighters; and I myself have worn a sword, and knew very well how to use it; but being convinced of the evil, by the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, working in us a conformity to the will of God, and subjecting us to Himself as subjects of his peaceable kingdom,

it is neither cowardice in ourselves, nor rebellion, nor disloyalty to kings or rulers, whom God in the course of his providence advances in nations, but conscience towards God, and obedience to his dear Son, the Prince of peace, our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, which make us decline fighting.”^{v 4}

To this effect, and much in the same words was my answer to the earl, who heard me with great patience and candour, and then replied: “It is true” said he, “so long as you behave peaceably, are loyal to the government, and pay your taxes as you do, I think when all is done there is not an absolute necessity for your personal service in war, since his majesty may always have soldiers enough for money, as he may have occasion.”

^{v 5} “True” said I, “and there are but few, in comparison of the whole body of the people, that serve personally in war; and, without all doubt, volunteers, of all others, are fittest for that service; where no man jeopardds his life but by his own consent, choice, and inclination, and therefore has no man to blame but himself in the consequences of it, with respect either to body or soul; since both may be in hazard, as men may be stated in such undertakings.”^{v 5} *

* In addition to these remarks might have been pointed out, above all, the DIVINE PROTECTION, without which in vain is

Some time being spent in what I have here related, and things seeming to sit well on this great man's mind, I was willing to withdraw; and then rising upon my feet, I said further unto him: "Considering thy station and resort, we may trespass though undesignedly on thy time, which may be necessarily employed on public services: but if I might have liberty to wait on thee at leisure times, I do not doubt making all these points we have gone upon, and all others wherein we differ from other professors of Christianity, as clear as the sun at noon-day, in favour of our profession; and that the same thing which now goes under the reproachful name of Quakerism and error, is no other than primitive and improved Christianity."

To which he replied: "I shall be glad to see you at any convenient time. My hour is about nine or ten in the morning; and if I should happen to be indisposed, or otherwise engaged, I will let you know it, and expect you another time:" which accepting as a favour I proceeded thus:

"I took notice of what thou saidst in this discourse concerning our preaching and writings,

the help of man; and which long before, in the way in which the Spanish Armada was destroyed, had so strikingly evinced that "His hand had done it," and that no king is saved by the multitude of a host."

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that they seemed both awkward and unintelligible: I suppose thou mayst remember something of one James Wilson, who has waited on thee some times to solicit thy assistance for relief of several of our Friends."

"^v6 "This is" said he, "Wilson of Westmoreland, an honest good man."

"It is the same" said I: "Thou wast pleased to admit him to some discourse with thee on some points of religion, on some of those occasions; and he promised to send thee a book, which would clear up some of those matters more than could then be done by him: and he hath accordingly requested me to present thee with it:" and so I gave it him, being one of Robert Barclay's Apology, and said: "If thou wilt please to read this book over with attention, I hope it will give thee some more satisfaction, both concerning the principles we believe and suffer for, ourselves, and our writings."

He readily received the book, and said: "I will peruse it."

Then in a moving posture I said further: "It is below the earl of Carlisle to be flattered, and inconsistent with me to do it; but this I can say with much freedom, I have often remembered thee and thine, with many good wishes, when far remote in another part of the world; and since I returned to Europe,

have from time to time desired to see thee ; but the circumstances of my concerns would not allow me till now. I am glad of this opportunity, and of thy condescension herein, and may make use of the liberty given me, in some other convenient time ; and in the mean time, wish thy happiness and prosperity :” and so we departed with great satisfaction. ^v ⁶

I left London on the 16th of the 7th month, as before mentioned, and that evening lodged at Ruscomb, at the widow Penn’s. On the 18th of the 7th month, I was at Reading, and afterwards at other places in my way to Bath, where I arrived on the 25th. ^w On first-day afternoon the 27th ; and on sixth-day the 2nd of the 8th month, several strangers and some of the nobility were present ; and the meetings were open and well. On first-day the 4th in the forenoon we had only a few strangers, but a pretty meeting of Friends ; there being several families from Bristol, and some from London.

In the afternoon came a great company of the nobility and gentry ; so that the house could not hold them, and all the yard before the door was filled. And though in the beginning of the meeting, some of them, as they are used in their own worship, were a little airy and pleasant among themselves, as if expecting something to make diversion, being wholly unacquainted with

Truth and the way of it, and lying under the prejudices of false rumours ; yet, in a short time many of them began to change countenance, and look with another aspect ; for God who wills the good of all men, favoured the opportunity, and gave me several matters of moment to declare among them, to the surprise of some, and general liking of most, if not all of them, except some few papists and their favourers ; whose principles and errors were a little exposed in that meeting. And finding Truth over all, and love towards them, after the service of the meeting was over, I told the auditory, that we were to have another meeting there on the fifth-day of the week, which they called Thursday, and we should be glad of their company with us ; and they seemed generally pleased with it.

For some reasons, the meeting being put off a day longer, we gave notice accordingly, and it had the desired effect ; for there was so great a concourse, especially of the quality, so called, that the house could not hold them, and many were without in the yard ; but as the ladies and women were generally preferred to the seats, several of the nobility stood great part of the time with great patience and attention, suitable things being opened to them ; and the meeting held between two and three hours. That day Truth gained ground considerably ; for as many

of them had before odd notions of us and our way, they now began to see we were a people greatly abused by false rumours, and the world imposed upon concerning us, our way, and worship; and were generally well satisfied.

On the 7th, being the fourth of the week, I had an evening meeting at Bradford, which was pretty large and open. That night I lodged at Dr. Clark's, and the next day was at a meeting at Cosham; which, though not large, was an open good meeting. That afternoon I went to Monks with Caleb Dickinson, and that night returned to Bath.

On the 11th, I was there again; and as many persons of rank and others, were by these several meetings generally excited, we had more than we had room for, especially in the afternoon; and many went away out of the yard and lane, who could not bear the weather, and to stand so long a time. A good season the Lord gave us to general satisfaction; for the blessed Truth was over all; and many of them were reached, and went away with solid countenances.

On the 12th, I went with Caleb Dickinson to Chew-Magna, to the marriage of Robert Button of Taunton, and Martha Vickris, youngest daughter of Richard Vickris, who, in his day, was an honest Friend, and a gentleman of good sense and reputation; which was solemnized on

the 15th, at the meeting-house there, where many of their relations, and the neighbourhood generally were present; and, among others, Sir William Cann of Busleton, whose sister had intermarried with Robert Vickris's eldest son, and heir of the said Richard, with whom I had much discourse afterwards on many points of religion to satisfaction; he and his lady, with some others of such sort, having been well pleased with the meeting, both with the manner of the celebration of our marriages, and what they heard; and he obliged me to call at his house, if I should come that way. The day before the marriage I was at the meeting at Belton, two miles from Chew; which, though small, was very open and comfortable.

On the 16th, I returned to Bath; and on the 18th, being the first of the week, we had the Lord Carpenter, general of the forces in Scotland, and his son, at meeting in the forenoon, and some other strangers. The subject matter was concerning Christ the foundation; and that Peter could not be so. I do not remember I was ever more clearly opened upon it; nor did I ever observe any person more grave and attentive than he was during the time I was speaking; and I thought, sometimes affected with the power of Truth, and what he heard. It was a good time to Friends, and we were thankful to the Lord that gave it.

Some time before this, there had divers poor people come up to Bath, in order for help by the waters against their several diseases, who had not wherewithal to procure accomodations for so long time as was needful for their cure, and they were not permitted to beg in public, the city being often oppressed by the resort of common beggars, who rather make a trade of their real distempers than come there for cure, and too often make false pretences of ailments, to deceive, where there is nothing real ; yet being willing to relieve the truly necessitous, proper notice had been given the week before in our meeting of such an intention, and Friends desired to come prepared for a contribution that way at this meeting : the thing being distinctly stated, lest any should think it was for our own poor, or for any other secret or particular purpose, of which some might be jealous. ^w

The meeting was very large this afternoon, and several of the nobility of both sexes, and others were present. Good part of what I had then to say was concerning that creed commonly called the apostles', and the interpretation of it; some things concerning the state of both Jews and gentiles at the coming of Christ; the gross idolatry of the latter, and apostacy of the former; and that great part of the supposed Christian world now at this day, is under as great idolatry;

instancings in the worship of a piece of bread, or an insipid wafer, in the Romish church, and the inconsistency of transubstantiation with sense and reason; both which are, and ought to be used in the Christian religion, and both helped and improved: but falling in also against deism, so much at this day prevailing, I said, reason is not to be the sole guide of man, but the Light and Spirit of Christ; which being above reason, and the true illuminator and rectifier thereof, is the sure and unerring guide unto all that believe and truly follow Him.

This was a great and glorious meeting; where many of the nobility and gentry were present. But that which was the crown and glory of all, was the presence of the King of kings and Lord of lords, among us; whose Truth was over all, in the demonstration of his wisdom and power, to his own glory; and many were that day sensible of it. This meeting was most generally satisfactory to all sorts, as it was our parting meeting, and a general solidity and awe being over most of the audience of all ranks. The meeting held near three hours, till it began to be dusk; and I was concerned in testimony about two hours and a half of the time: and though many of the quality as well as others, stood most of the time, I did not observe any of them express any weariness or other dislike.

W² The meeting being ended, we proceeded to the collection; and before we began, John Ecclestone of London, who being there for his health, had been very serviceable in procuring some great persons to come to our meetings, and in answering questions among them, where any thing had not been well understood, made a short speech to this effect: "That though this collection was intended wholly in our own communion, yet being for poor people not of our own sort, we were not so narrow, or tied up to ourselves on such accounts, but that the charitable contributions of others would be acceptable to that end." Upon which several did contribute liberally with us. And, lest any should, through malice or evil surmising, pervert our good intentions, we desired that some one or more not of our Society might be concerned to see the distribution according to the intent, which was accordingly done: but notwithstanding all our precautions, this charitable action was perverted, as I afterwards heard, by some who made an injurious and perverse remark upon what John Ecclestone said, that we had first drawn people to our meeting as if we had expected nothing from them, and when there, obliged them to a contribution, by another speech, to the support of our own poor, or worse: all which I had an opportunity to clear. W²

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On the 29th, I had a full open meeting in a large new meeting-house of the general Baptists at Froome, which they readily lent us for that occasion, our own place being too small to accommodate the number expected. The subject was God's universal free grace, through Christ, unto all people: and I do not remember I was ever more fully or clearly opened upon it. The meeting being over, as I came out of the pew, an ancient, grave woman asked me this question: "If Christ died for all, why were not all saved, since there could be no insufficiency in the blood of Christ to answer the end proposed?"

I said in reply: "That if she had taken good heed to the whole of what was said in the meeting, this point had been made very plain and clear to her understanding; but since she had not, I further added, there is no insufficiency in the offering or offerer, but in mankind, that do not believe and obey: 'For this is the condemnation of the world, that they have not believed in the only begotten Son of God.' Again: 'I am the Light of the world,' said Christ the Lord, 'whosoever followeth Me shall not abide in darkness.'

"And again: 'This is the condemnation of the world, that Light is come into the world; but men loved darkness rather than Light, because their deeds are evil.' And further: 'What-

soever things are reproved, are made manifest by the Light ; for whatsoever makes manifest, is Light.'

“All this is said of Christ, who is that one Propitiation for the sin, not only of the apostles, and those that had already believed, but also for the sins of the whole world, who at that time had not yet believed, but were still in unbelief; which offering being on God's part, in discharge of his promises before by his prophets ; the way that the promises become effectual to us is, to believe in this Light, that we may be the Children of God in Him. Thus believing in the Light and walking in obedience to his manifestations and discoveries, the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin ; but they who disbelieve in, or disobey this Light, are under condemnation still ; for though in Him the Light of the gentiles, the Covenant is all sufficient and complete, yet we may fail by our own neglect.”

This answer she received, and was silent, going away with signs of respect.

Section VIII.

Bristol.—Salisbury.—Isle of Wight.—Dorking, London.—Imprisoned there.—Successful endeavours of the Author and other Friends, to obtain relief respecting the Affirmation.—Interviews with the Earls of Carlisle and Sunderland.—The Archbishops of Canterbury and of York.—Bishop of Carlisle.—Dukes of Sussex and Somerset.

On the 31st of the 8th month, [corresponding with the 10th month of the present style] I went to Bristol, and staid there some weeks. * There are at this time in that city a young people of the offspring of Friends, a considerable body who love Truth when preached to them in the life and demonstration of the wisdom and power of it; but many of them, not yet much acquainted with the powerful work of Truth in themselves, are not apt to relish the harsh and unwary discourses of some among themselves, such as Sarah Dixon and her disciples and accomplices, who very unwarrantably and falsely apply unto them, and even to the men's meeting there, all the woes and judgments against old Israel in their most degenerate state; of whose sins these young people and others, knowing themselves not to be guilty, though perhaps

in some things they want amendment, are greatly offended and hurt.^x I had some open times among them in the love of Truth, the visitation whereof is towards them. Many important truths were opened; and the way of satan's temptations in the thoughts and imaginations of mankind exposed to the meanest capacities; the necessity of regeneration by the holy convincing power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus, was inculcated and enforced; using all decent plainness with them concerning their present state; and as it was in the love of Truth, they received it in the same ground: my ministry reaching to their understandings, and not their affections only, I hope it may be serviceable to many of them, though there have been appearances among them of such, who know not their own spirits or ground of their ministry; which gives no testimony for Truth, nor ascends higher than its own fountain, begetting harsh ideas like itself, but nothing that is sweet and lovely.

On the 22nd of the 10th month, I departed thence, leaving them in mutual love and friendship; and next day I was at a meeting at Glastonbury, and on the 25th at Grinton. Our friend Philip Watts, landlord of the parish, of a considerable estate, being in Ivelchester prison for non-payment of church-rates, so called, by the prosecution of an ill-natured

person in the neighbourhood, and I suppose one of his own tenants, who being instigated and supported by some of the members of the ecclesiastical court at Wells, an old antichristian engine of oppression upon mankind, had been thus mischievous and wicked; which our friend bore with Christian patience, though separated from the comforts of his new married wife and family, and necessary concerns of life: all which I was concerned to take some notice of that day in my testimony; which was very open in the love of Truth to the faithful.

After this I had meetings at divers other places in Hampshire and Dorsetshire, in a few of which I had the company of my dear friend Samuel Bownas. And on the 30th of the 11th month, came to Salisbury. The next day being the first of the week, I was at their meetings; in the forenoon meeting I was greatly comforted in silence, and had an open time in testimony: in the afternoon the place was crowded with different sorts of people, the controversy being then warm about the Trinity, and some willing to hear what might be said relating to it: but I rather set forth "Christ the Light of the gentiles, and object of faith that way; exhorting all to a holy life, and to the keeping of the commandments of God;" Christ setting Himself forth as an example that way, saying:

* ‘If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, as I have kept my Father’s commandments and abide in his love.’ That keeping Christ’s commandments is a necessary consequence of loving Him; and without keeping his commandments, all profession of discipleship is vain. ‘If any man love Me, he will keep my commandments; and my Father will love him, and we will come and make our abode with him. In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and you in Me, and I in you.’

“Again: † ‘He that saith I know Him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and The Truth is not in him.’ And seeing this is Life Eternal to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent; and that knowledge is not to be acquired, but as God pleases to make Himself known, it is better to wait humbly upon God for this knowledge, to be experimental witnesses of his presence in the Son of his love, than to have any notions of him, other than what he gives; since no man can form any true idea of Him; nor is He any thing to any man, but what He himself pleases. But as He is declared to be love to all his humble, faithful, and obedient children, and a consuming fire to the ungodly, it is better we all labour so to

* John xv. 10.

† 1 John ii. 4

behave and demean ourselves to Him, and one to another, as to escape his wrath, and abide in his love, than by unwarrantable curiosities, and neglect of our duty, to provoke his displeasure.

“The sum of religion and of all his requirings is to love God with all the soul, and with all the strength, and one another in Him, without which all speculations are vain.” These with many other truths of the Gospel, were freely and with good authority opened in that meeting, to general satisfaction.

On the 1st and 3rd of the 12th month, I had meetings at Romsey and Southampton, which were but small, little notice having been given to the neighbours; and as they were sparing that way, so the Lord was sparing to them, for we had a poor time, though some were alive.

From hence I went to the Isle of Wight, and had meetings at Cowes and Newport: many people came to the meeting at Newport, and were disturbing; yet not regarding them, and my voice being over their noise and talking, the sober sort sat well informed and satisfied; and I came away easy, having, after the meeting to reprove the disorderly, and said: “They were a reproach to government, a shame to their parents, a scandal to their teachers, and a grief to the honest hearted.” I added: “That the teachers among the first reformed Protestants,

used to catechise the youth of their profession every first-day, by which some impressions of religion were made early in their minds. But as many of those now in this nation, mind little else than to seek their gain from their quarters, their hearers were too generally become brutish, and so far from religion, that they were below a moral education." Some of the sober sort said, there was too much in it to be denied; and blamed one another as they passed in the streets.

On the 8th, I passed over to Portsmouth, where we had a meeting; from hence I went to Gosport, Portchester, Alford, Alton, Godalming, and Guildford, and had meetings. On the 19th, I went to Dorking, where we had a large meeting, though there are but few Friends; many things of moment were opened among them, and with good authority; coming close upon such as secretly are convinced of the way of Truth, but for reasons relating to this world will not own it; especially in these texts, and some short comments upon them: viz. * "He that denieth Me before men, him will I also deny before my Father and the holy angels; and he that confesseth Me before men, him will I also confess before my Father and the holy

* Luke xii.

angels." * "He that receiveth you, receiveth Me; and he that receiveth Me, receiveth Him that sent Me."

† "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." It is not therefore sufficient that a man is inwardly and secretly convinced of the Truth, and way of it, or knows who are the people of God, and yet does not own it openly; but as the unbelieving are excluded, so also the fearful: and neither father, mother, wife, nor children, houses nor lands, oxen nor farms, liberty nor life, are to be preferred to the calling of God; since Christ has told his disciples from the beginning what they must expect in this world for his Name's sake, if they believe in Him, and follow Him fully. And as ignorance will be no excuse in the day of the Lord, and the unbelieving are condemned already; so it will be no plea in the day of the Lord, for any to say, I did not believe these were thy ministers, or these the Truths of thy Gospel, which I heard them declare; or that was thy Light and grace which they witnessed unto. Since this is the condemnation of the world, that they have not believed in the only begotten Son of God, who hath declared Himself to be the

* Matt. x, 40. † Rom. x. 10.

Light of the world; and his servants have witnessed, that He is that 'true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' that all men through Him might believe." I staid here till the 21st; and after being at a meeting at Street Cobham, I proceeded to London, where I staid some time.

‡ On the 18th of the 1st month, 1719-20, I was committed to the Fleet, for not taking the affirmation, in which suffering I had great peace and acceptance with the Lord, who hath forbidden swearing to his disciples; and the affirmation as now fixed partakes too much of the nature of an oath. On the 18th of the 6th month, 1721, I was released by order of the lord chancellor. ‡



* In this year an act was passed for permanently accepting the affirmation of Friends, in the simple form in which it now stands: "I, A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm that," &c.

As the author took an active part in the proceedings which, through the favour of Divine Providence, led to this issue; it seems desirable to insert in this place, principally from the Appendix to the folio edition of his life, some particulars relative to the subject; especially as the Journal itself records no transaction between the author's release from imprisonment just mentioned; and his leaving London on the 25th of the 3rd month, 1722, probably at the close of the Yearly Meeting; which according to the Old Style, used to be held about that time.

The author's own imprisonment for a year and half, for conscientiously refusing to take the affirmation in the form in which it had been previously granted, is an ample testimony to the dissatisfaction which it gave to the Society as it then stood. His endeavours in conjunction with other members of the Society, were the occasion of several conferences with individuals who were high in rank or authority, both in church and state, in which, discussions took place, which may be interesting to the reader in other respects, as well as in exhibiting ample ground for dissatisfaction with the form of affirmation as it then stood.

We have already seen the courteous reception the author met with from his former juvenile acquaintance, the earl of Carlisle, the revival of which visit may be sufficient introduction to T. Story's narrative of those conferences.

With the Earls of Carlisle and Sunderland.

Some Friends in London, of whom I was one, being in a particular manner concerned in mind, that the king and parliament might be addressed for an affirmation act more generally satisfactory, according to the agreement of our Yearly Meeting on that behalf, I wrote a letter to the Earl of Carlisle, ever a sure friend to our Society on all occasions, entreating his advice to which of the ministry we had best make our first application on that account; and he was pleased to send me an answer by one of his servants, wherein he invited me to his house in Dover

Street, London, to confer on the subject. When there, being together in a parlour, his eldest son, the Lord Morpeth came in, to whom he said: "They," meaning Friends, "are an honest good people, serviceable and helpful in the nation, and true friends to the government, on the principles on which it now stands; but because of some opinions they hold in matters of religion, the laws are against them in divers respects, and particularly in cases of oaths, which they think not lawful for them, as apprehending they are forbidden by Christ under the Gospel. Be that as it will, I think they deserve relief, and I have ever contributed as much towards it in all cases as I could; and I know, from the many applications made to me on that account, that they have suffered for not taking the oaths, and do suffer very much in their families and business, by refusing to take an affirmation, intended for their ease on that behalf, but which does not prove generally consistent with their sentiments in that point: and as they may have occasion, before long, to solicit the favour of the house of commons for further redress," of which the Lord Morpeth was then a member, "I expect you will favour them, and use your interest on their account;" which the young lord promised he would do. By this I observed that this great man was willing to

transmit his own good-will towards us as a people, to his son and heir-apparent, and render it, in a manner, hereditary in his family ; for his grandfather had ever been our friend from the beginning, and kept off the stroke of persecution in the worst of times, wherever he had any power, especially in the north of England ; where, in those days, he was much conversant.

Upon this occasion the earl informed me, that the earl of Sunderland, being secretary of state, in great favour with the king, friendly to us, and having sway at court, was the most proper person to make our first application to in that point, to know the mind of the king, of which we were not altogether ignorant before, and on what we might depend from the rest of the ministry. " But," said he, " the earl of Sunderland, considering the duty of his office, the great business of it, and assiduous application necessary therein, cannot be spoken with, except at some uncertain times ; but, to make it the easier, as he comes occasionally to my house, I will give you notice of the first opportunity that happens, and there you may speak with him more freely than you can among a throng of people constantly attending him at home." He then advised me to have in readiness a copy of the affirmation as it then stood, and also of the form of words agreed to in our Yearly Meeting.

Some days after this the earl sent a letter by a servant, wherein he gave me notice, that the earl of Sunderland was then at his house, and might be spoken with before he went thence. I went immediately to him; but, when I came there, the low rooms were crowded with people, some with applications to one of these great men, and some to the other; but notifying to the earl of Carlisle, by one of his servants, that I was come, he came down himself among the crowd; and taking me by the hand, invited me to an upper room, next to that in which the earl of Sunderland was, with some persons of distinction, and bid me stay there till he came to me; which he did in a short time, and then introduced me to the earl of Sunderland, who received me in a very friendly manner. I then made known to him my business, and said: "That though the king, his ministry, and the parliament, had lately intended us a great favour, in perpetuating the affirmation act as it then stood, yet it did not answer the end proposed; for a great part of our people could not comply with it, the terms, in their apprehension, importing a difference from the doctrine of Christ."

Then I produced the form in the act, and that also which our meeting had agreed to; which, when he had read, he said: "You might have had the latter as soon as the former, if you had

applied for it; for what we did in it was with intent to serve you in your own way: and you yourselves soliciting for it, we thought we had fully gratified you; and were informed, that but a few of you were dissatisfied with that form, and those a sect among you, misled by Mr. Penn, in disloyalty to the government, and in favour of the pretender, and who did not desire that favour from the present government, hoping for it by another in time; and those who were satisfied with that form were Mr. Mead's friends, and principled for the Revolution, and present government in the house of Hanover; the one sort called Pennites, and the other Meadites."

I replied: "This is only a calumny, artfully invented to defame our Society, and render the more distressed part of us odious to the king and government, that we might have no relief; which is a great cruelty and hardship. And I have heard that ——— Aislaby, then chancellor of the exchequer, and a member of the house of commons, was so far imposed upon by that suggestion, as to report it in the house, when that matter was in debate there, whether the act should be perpetuated or not." I added: "That I did not know, or had ever heard of any such sect, party, or parties among us, so attached to William Penn or William Mead, or to any other person; for we are not a people subject to be led by sect-masters, if any such should

appear among us, but to follow God and Christ only in matters of religion; and, as such, the denying of all oaths we believe to be a part of our duty. I was long and intimately acquainted with William Penn, and knew his sentiments with respect to the government and pretender; and though he ever retained a great respect for all that family; I believe he did it in point of gratitude for the protection he had from the duke of York, afterwards king James, in a time of great persecution, and not from any principle of disloyalty to the present king or his government. But as to those among us, who cannot comply with the present form of the affirmation, I know they are generally as loyal to king George, and true to his government, as any of his subjects in all his dominions; for I have lately been among them in a general way. And the earl of Carlisle himself likewise knows, that many of our Friends, whom he hath relieved by his interest, who had suffered much for non-compliance with the affirmation, were as loyal as any others."

Then the earl of Sunderland, being himself a very good friend of William Penn, spoke respectfully of him, and said: "That gentleman," meaning Aislaby, "was not your friend at that time, but you will find him otherwise now;" adding with a smile: "He *shall* be your friend."

To which I returned: "It is enough!"

Then he said: "It is not so easy a matter as you may think, to bring a thing of this nature through both houses; yet we can do it, and you need not go to the king about it; for you are in his favour, and therefore he will not oppose what we," meaning the ministry, "may think proper to advise him. And I can tell you more, the greatest part of the bishops will be for you: we have seventeen of them secure already, and there may be more by the time that it may be proper to go upon it. But then," said he: "will this please you if done? Will you make no further scruple about it?"

To which I replied: "If you will be pleased to enact this form, or something of like import of no higher nature, I dare venture to say our Society will not give you any further trouble about it." I also told him: "I do not come at this time by any direction of our Society, but only with the privity of a few, who are of the dissatisfied, to learn the mind of the ministry, and to be instructed what measures to take in this affair; since we are determined not to move, but by their privity and assistance; though both the satisfied and dissatisfied are one in this solicitation. For as the one side hath been willing the other should have their liberty to use it, when they could freely do it, for relief of their families, without any breach of union

among us; so the other are willing to join with them in one interest, to solicit for such a form as may be easy to all."

All this being ended, I made him acknowledgments for his favour, and returned with satisfaction and peace, not doubting from thenceforward that we should succeed; though my confidence was not from what this great minister had said, but from the evidence I had from the Divine Truth, that it was my business and duty in his service, and for the help and preservation of his people, to go about it at that time, according to what our Society had agreed to among ourselves in the Yearly Meeting. And that saying is worthy of everlasting remembrance: 'That whatsoever ye shall agree to ask in my Name, it shall be granted.' And in this Name alone do we confide, and did so at that time in that affair.

This visit I related to some Friends concerned for a new affirmation, which gave them considerable satisfaction. I then made it known to some of the other side; who, though they had used the affirmation as it then stood, yet were heartily concerned for the other Friends, and for universal liberty; and particularly Andrew Pitt and Joseph Wyeth, with whom I was very intimate, and knew to be true friends to mankind and just liberty. I moved the matter first

to Andrew, and told him what I had done, and the encouragement we had from the earl of Sunderland.

He answered: "The stations such great men are in, oblige them to give soft and obliging answers in a general way, but the alteration of circumstances often alters their measures; so that they cannot always do as they intend."

I told him I did not doubt his veracity, but had a better foundation yet to trust to, and did believe, that if he and Joseph Wyeth, and some others of the Friends on that side, who were rightly concerned for general liberty, would set freely about it with the other Friends, we should obtain what we all desired.

Then he said: "If I was to be governed by just resentments I was once ready to yield to, by reason of ill usage I met with from some persons amongst us against the present affirmation, who misrepresented me as untrue in the former solicitations, and even a counter solicitor, I would not set one foot forward in their assistance; but I give thanks to the Almighty, by whose grace I am furnished with a better mind, and by whose providence we are furnished with an opportunity, to evince to mankind how ready we are to give that liberty, and to procure it one for another, which we have desired of our superiors." And then kindly added: "I will go with thee to any man in England thou wilt

desire, and thou shalt be witness thyself of the sincerity of my endeavours and solicitations that way; and I will assist to the utmost of my power with all my heart."

I replied: "I am glad to hear it; and since thou hast said it, no doubt can remain with me of thy sincerity; and thou mayst do it in thy own way and time; for suspicion does not become the friendship I owe thee, nor the just confidence I place in thee."

I mentioned likewise the same matter to my very sure friend Joseph Wyeth; who instantly declared his readiness to fall in with any proper measures for effecting so good an end, as an affirmation which would make our whole community easy. And he had before had it so much at heart, as to have written to the king about it, of which I was not then apprised.

With the Archbishop of Canterbury.

John Fallowfield, myself, and one more, going to Lambeth, to solicit the concurrence of William Wake, then archbishop of Canterbury, in our endeavours with the king and parliament to procure an affirmation instead of an oath, in terms less exceptionable than that then in force, the bishop gave us a courteous and friendly reception; and when we had told him our business,

and had exhibited our request, he, in a solemn manner, expressed himself thus: "Because of oaths the land mourns; and it is shocking to observe with what levity and insensibility oaths are administered, and taken in this nation! I am for liberty of conscience, where that is truly the case, and could wish there were not any form of words of any higher nature than you now solicit for, to be used in this land in any case whatever; but if we should grant it to you only, I fear the people would resent it, and blame us."

To this I answered: "That if he and the clergy would heartily concur in soliciting for the establishment of such a form as we now desired, I did believe our people would readily exert their utmost endeavours that way."

Then said the bishop: "Put the case, that any controversy should arise between any of the clergy and any of your people, concerning what we call our dues; do not you think it were reasonable, that we and our evidences should be admitted in the controversy on the same form of words as you?"

John Fallowfield answered: "That he thought that could not be reasonable unless they had the same way of thinking as we, and did believe themselves under the same obligation to speak truth in evidence without an oath as with one, as we do; for lying and false witness are breaches of the commands of God, and mortal

sins as well as perjury. And if your people, or such of them as might be called to witness, should happen to think otherwise, or that they were not so strictly tied up by such a form of words as by an oath, they might equivocate, or venture to falsify; so that we could not have equal security.”*

The bishop very moderately took this answer, and made no reply.

Then I took the occasion to say to the bishop: “That notwithstanding the lenity of the government, and the provision the legislature had made, for the more easy and less destructive way of recovery of what the clergy called their dues; yet many of the inferior sort still continued to take the most chargeable and ruinous methods in the courts of exchequer and chancery; whereby many families were greatly distressed and reduced, if not ruined; which did not only greatly oppress our Friends, but fixed an ill character and odium upon the clergy themselves in general: for there is not a man so poor, if he is honest and a good man, but that he is

* Those who would not be bound by their own consciences to speak the truth, would probably be less awed by taking the Name of God in vain, than by the penalty attached to false evidence. The Mosaic law rendered such an offender obnoxious to the punishment he thought to bring on another.

loved and respected by his neighbours; and when such are oppressed by any of the clergy, though by a law, mankind who observe it, are not always so just as to place the odium upon the single and immediate oppressor; but rather apply it to the whole body, and say: "See here the clergy who pretend to teach religion, how uncharitable, how covetous, how cruel they are! here is a poor honest man and his family ruined for a trifle." Now considering the station and authority thou bearest in the national church, if thou would be pleased to advise them to greater moderation, it might be helpful to many, and prevent the odium which really militates against themselves, as well as oppresses us."

The bishop being a mild-tempered man, did not at all take this freedom amiss, but replied: "That he had not that authority over the inferior clergy that we might think; for said he they have the law on their side, and they know it, and their highest regard is to their own interest; and you have more authority among your people, by your excommunications in your Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, &c. than I have in the church by all the laws in the nation, ecclesiastical and civil. I call it excommunication, you will not take that word amiss; that is our way of expressing it."

I answered: "That we did not take any exceptions at the word; it was very significant

and expressive of the thing; only we think excommunication ought not to reach so far as your church extend it; it should not extend to men's liberty, property, or persons. What we mean by excommunication is this: when any one among us goes into any immoral practices or acts, and after due admonition persists in any thing contrary to the Christian faith and religion, as we understand it, we deny such an one Christian communion, or to be a member of our Society until he repent, and by better conduct give ample proof of his reformation and sincerity. And when such a delinquent is become a true penitent, and desires to be reconciled to the body, we apprehend it is as much the duty of the Society to receive him, when so stated, as before to bear witness against him, and deny or excommunicate him."

The bishop made no reply to this.

Speaking of the maintenance of the clergy, and their insisting on the law only for it, he said: "As to the right of our maintenance as ministers, whether of Divine right or by the laws only, we are divided in our sentiments on that point. There are about 14,000 of the clergy in this nation," as I remember he said, "and I do not know on which side of the question the majority may be; but for my own part, for me to think I have this house, lifting

up his hand towards the ceiling, or my bishoprick, by Divine right, there is nothing in it; and only as these are advantages annexed to an office by the laws of the land, which office I enjoy by the favour of the prince, so I receive and hold it, and no otherwise."

This I deemed a frank and honest confession, and could not but respect him for it.

Again, upon my mentioning the severity and envy of some of the inferior clergy against us, he granted: "That these things brought an odium upon themselves, and wrought against them;" and added: "that he was against persecution in any degree or form; and that if he was incumbent in any parish, he would never sue any of our Friends for his dues." And then related to us the following passage: "That a clergyman of his acquaintance, having a presentation offered him to a church in London, a friend of his would have dissuaded him from accepting it, because," said he, "there are many Quakers in the parish, and you must either lose a great part of your dues, or be perpetually at law and trouble about them, which is not agreeable to your temper and quietude." "But," said the bishop, "the gentleman replied, that notwithstanding the number of Quakers in the parish, I will accept it; and accordingly he did; but being gentle and neighbourly among them,

and never suing any of them, they took it so well, that they generally made up his dues some other way, and they lived very peaceably together."

To this I replied: "That it being matter of conscience in all of us who are true to our principles, we could not justify any of our Friends in taking any bye-ways or equivocal methods, to elude our profession in that case; for whatsoever any man professeth, as any part or incident of the Christian religion, he ought to be sincere therein; and it were more manly and Christian to act openly as one is inwardly persuaded, than to profess one thing openly, and act another contrary in secret; for that is hypocrisy, and we would not have one such among us."

Then I related to the bishop how far we think any society of Christians may and ought to contribute to the necessary charge of a Gospel ministry, and how that matter stands among us at this day: "That we believe the true Gospel ministry and Christian religion comes not by tradition, imitation or succession, as from the apostles and primitives, but immediately from CHRIST Himself; who, according to his promise, hath ever been with his Church, and ever will be to the end of the world, as a Fountain of Life and salvation unto her: that

He only hath right and power to call, sanctify, and qualify whomsoever He pleases, as ministers and officers in his congregation, or amongst his people; which is of his own seeking, congregating, baptizing, and saving by the revelation, operation, and agency of his Holy Spirit. And we observe that now as in times past, He taketh the weak things of this world whereby to overpower the strong and foolish, and to confound the wisdom of the wise; that no flesh may boast before Him.

“And when at any time we are sitting together in silence, as we usually do, waiting upon the Almighty for the influence of his Holy Spirit, that we might be comforted, refreshed, and edified thereby, if any one hath his understanding enlightened into any edifying matter, and is moved and enabled to speak, the rest have proper qualifications, by the same Spirit, to discern and judge, both of the soundness of his speech and matter, and also of the Spirit and Fountain from which his ministry doth arise; and if from the Holy Spirit of CHRIST who is Truth, it hath acceptance with the congregation, and though but in a few words, it is comfortable and edifying; for as the palate tasteth meats, so the ear, or discerning faculties of an illuminated, sanctified mind, distinguisheth words and the Fountain from which they spring.

“And such a person thus appearing, may so appear at another time, and be enlarged in word and in power, and so on gradually, till he hath given proof of his ministry to his friends and brethren, among whom, in the neighbourhood, he hath been exercised therein, until he becomes a workman in the Gospel, in some good degree fitted for the service; and then it may so happen, as often it doth, that this person is moved or called by the word of God, to travel in this service in some other places remote from his habitation, which will take him off from his business, whereby he maintains himself, his wife, and family; and suppose him to be a cobbler of old shoes, a patcher or translator of old clothes, or the meanest mechanic that can be named, poor, and not able to fit himself with common necessaries for his journey, and he wanteth a horse, (though some only walk,) clothing and the like; in such a case, the Friends of the meeting to which he belongs, provide all such things, and furnish him.

“And if in that service he is so long from home, as that his horse fails, and his clothes wear out, and necessaries are wanting unto him, then the Friends where he travels, where his service is acceptable, take care to furnish him till he returns to his family and business. And in the time of his absence from them, some Friend

or Friends of the neighbourhood visit his family, advise in his business, and charitably promote it till he returns. But as to any other temporal advantages, or selfish motive, or reward for such service, there is no such thing among us ; for if our ministers should have the least view that way, and insisted upon it, or our people were willing to gratify that desire, we should then conclude we were gone off from the true Foundation of Christ and his apostles, and become apostates.

“ But though our principles allow such assistance to our ministers as I have related ; yet I have not known any instance, save one, of any such help : for by the good Providence of God, our ministers have generally sufficient of their own to support the charge of their travels in that service, and are unwilling that the Gospel should be chargeable to any ; only as their ministry makes way where they come, their company is acceptable to their friends, who afford them to eat, and drink, and lodge with them for a night or two, more or less, as there may be occasion ; which being freely given and freely received, we think is like unto the primitives, under the immediate conduct of the same Lord, our Saviour and director.”

The bishop heard all these things with patience and candour, not showing the least dislike to any part of what passed among us ; and

in conclusion he said, a little pleasantly: "Then you are like Paul and Barnabas, and we are like Silas and Timothy; you travel abroad to propagatethe faith of Christ, and we remain at home, taking care of things there." And though it was on the second-day when usually visited by his clergy, he staid with us alone till about the middle of the day; and at our departure said: "Gentlemen, let us in our several stations, endeavour to promote universal love, good-will, and charity amongst mankind; and I pray God bless you and prosper you in your undertakings; for we ought to pray for one another and desire the best things one for another."

And so we departed in peace and with satisfaction.

With the Archbishop of York.

Going to the archbishop of York, Sir William Dawes, to solicit his favour and concurrence in the house of lords, for altering the terms of our solemn affirmation, as they then stood in the acts of parliament relating thereto, being such as the body of our Friends disliked, and could not comply with, the bishop upon that occasion said: "I am for liberty of conscience where that is truly the case; but there is a sort of people in this nation, who dissent from the

church on the pretence of conscience, and yet can occasionally seek for offices and places of profit in the government; I cannot call this conscience, but humour."

I replied: "I am of the same mind; but that is not our case; for we want no places nor offices in the government, but an exemption from such laws as tend to obstruct us in our duty and service to the Almighty, in such manner as we are in truth and sincerity persuaded in our conscience we ought to worship, fear, serve, and obey Him, without any view to any other interest."

Then said the bishop: "The words of the affirmation that now is, are a solemn oath, and so we," meaning the clergy, "always from the beginning, have understood them."

I replied: "I know you have; for Dr. Tillotson when dean of Paul's, being required to preach a sermon before the judges of the assize at Kingston upon Thames, took his text in these words: 'Men verily swear by the greater, and an oath is to them an end of all strife;' from which he raised a discourse, intending therein to prove that oaths in judicature were not only lawful but necessary, under the Gospel as well as under the law. In which discourse he defines an oath in these words or to this effect: 'An oath is a solemn appeal to God, as a witness of the

truth of what we say.' This sermon being printed before we applied to the legislature for relief against oaths, and the reasoning therein supposed to be strong in support of judicial swearing, that parliament would not grant us any relief in any other terms but in the words of the doctor's definition of an oath, a little improved. For whereas he saith in his sermon, 'an oath, is a solemn appeal to God as a witness of the truth,' &c. the parliament added the word Almighty to the word God, setting forth the Supreme Being in his highest attribute, as a witness in the most trivial cases occurring among the children of men, whilst a mortal sitteth as judge in the cause.

And as the particle *a*, might denote the Most High as a witness only on the level with other witnesses, the parliament more wisely and reverently changed the particle *a* to the more proper word *the*, by way of super-eminence as justly due: for where the God of Truth is witness, there needeth no other; and to suppose there doth, is derogatory to his Divine majesty, and blasphemous; of which many of our people were aware, and therefore shunned it, and could not comply; though some others, not so well apprized of the nature of an oath, did use it: but we as a body of people, never agreed to it; for our Yearly Meeting, which represents us and our

principles, in the most collective and general manner, hath always agreed to solicit the government for a more proper form, when it might please God to incline their hearts to so much goodness; and we hoping this is the time, have proposed the form now before the house."

The bishop replied: "That he was not our enemy, but could not stay at that time to see or hear any more on the subject, being under an appointment about some business;" and so we parted.

Some days after this I went to him again, accompanied only by John Irwin. The bishop was alone, and received us very courteously, and we renewed our applications to him on the same account; and then the bishop was more plain with us, and said: "That he could not be for us on that account; for though he did believe, that the words of the affirmation as they then stood were as solemn an oath as could be invented by the wit of man, he understood our Friends had generally complied with them on every pinching or needful occasion, as he had been informed by persons of unquestionable credit, who had been exercised in the court of chancery." He added: "That if there were any considerable number of us who conscientiously scrupled the words, it ought to be duly

considered by the house, and relief granted; but to alter the laws for a very few, could hardly comport with prudence; since the parliament would greatly incur the censure of the people of the nation if they should do it." And added: "That he could not see any reason why such of us as took the affirmation should be exempted from the common oaths of the nation." By which I perceived he and they would have divided us if they could.

To this I replied: "That since the bishop himself understood the words in the present act to be a solemn oath; and as, if sincere to our principles, it was matter of conscience, to which he professed to be a friend, I hoped he could not blame us, had we been but a few, for making application for a form of a milder nature, in which nothing like an oath was contained. But as to the numbers on either side of the question among us the petitioners, the proceedings against us in chancery, or any other courts, could not determine; for few, in comparison of the body of our people, are prosecuted there; and as there may be some who comply, as not believing the words in the act to amount to an oath, there are others also who have been prosecuted therein, who have so far scrupled them, as rather to suffer the hard measures of the law than comply with that form."

Then said John Irwin : "The bishop is misinformed on this point ; for I live in the north of England, and know that there are very few of our Friends in all these parts who comply with the terms of the present affirmation on any account, but generally suffer the force of the laws, rather than yield to a thing contrary to conscience : and I have likewise, not long ago, travelled through most parts of the west and south of this nation ; and upon a general observation find, that the greatest part of our Friends every where, are averse to the present affirmation, and decline to use it as much as they can."

This I confirmed by adding : "That I also had, for some years past, travelled through most parts of the world where our people are, and observed, that they are generally principled against the form of the present affirmation ; and this endeavour for further ease and liberty of conscience in the case, is by consent and direction of our whole body, represented in our Yearly Meeting here in London, and not by any particular party or side only : so that I hope thy objection, as to a few, is fully answered ; and even if there were but a few in a nation under that circumstance, charity ought not to be withheld for that reason, since

the 'eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open to their cry.' ”

And as the bishop had asserted: “That the words of the former affirmation were a solemn oath, and wished that all the judicial oaths of the nation were in that form,” it gradually drew the question into our discourse, whether Christ in his doctrine had prohibited all swearing; they commonly alleging that He only forbid profane swearing in conversation, but not swearing in evidence. I assumed the affirmative: “That the Lord Christ hath abolished all oaths out of his Church; and alleged for proof the fifth chapter of Matthew, where He saith: ‘Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, you shall in no case enter the kingdom of heaven:’ and then in several points sets forth what their righteousness did amount to, viz. ‘You have heard it was said by them of old time, thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.’ Here by taking away the cause which is an unlawful desire in the heart, he prevents the act.

“Again: ‘You have heard it hath been said by them of old time, thou shalt love thy neighbour’ or friend, ‘and hate thine enemy;

but I say unto you, love your enemies, &c.' Now where the heart is filled with the love of God, in which Christ laid down his life for mankind, whilst yet enemies, in which we can have love and compassion even for enemies, the cause of fighting, and destroying one another as enemies, is taken away; men are reconciled unto God through Christ, and one unto another in Him; and so abiding, cannot fight or destroy any more; as it is written: 'They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord.'

“ Thus far our Lord spake in parables to introduce and illustrate the point in question: 'You have heard it hath been said by them of old time, thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I say unto you, swear not at all.' Here the Lord begins with oaths of the highest nature, used under the law on the most solemn occasions; which whosoever falsified were perjured; and where there is swearing there may be perjury; but where there is no swearing, there can be no perjury; where the cause is taken away, the effects will cease: and as He all along advanceth the moralities of the Gospel above that of the law, in all other instances, so in this also; for if he had only forbid profane swearing, He had done no more than Moses had done

in the point; where it is said: 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;' which command every one breaks in a most impious sense, who swears in conversation.

"The Lord having thus prohibited the once lawful oaths, He proceeds to explain the tendency of their invented oaths, which they used in conversation, and on small occasions, the breach whereof they did not seem to think was perjury: 'Neither shalt thou swear by heaven, for it is God's throne; and he who sweareth by the throne of God, sweareth by Him that sitteth thereon; neither shalt thou swear by the earth, for it is his footstool:' and by parity of consequence, he that sweareth by the footstool of God, sweareth by Him whose footstool it is. 'Neither shalt thou swear by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King; nor by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black;' both which result and terminate the same way: such swear by the Lord, the King of kings, whose Name and temple was placed in Jerusalem in the time of the law; and the head as all the parts of man, being formed of the Lord, to swear thereby, is to swear by his Maker. Thus swearing by heaven, earth, Jerusalem, the altar, the gold thereon, the head, or any creature, every oath

is forbidden in conversation, as well as judicial swearing: 'But let your conversation,' and communication, 'be yea, yea, nay, nay, for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil;' of the evil one, which is the devil. 'Leave off lying, and every man speak truth to his neighbour;' and use no higher asseveration in your speech, than redoubling your yea on solemn occasions; as by example, of your Lord, verily, verily."

The bishop heard me with patience; and, what gave me some surprise, he made no other reply than this: "Your interpretation of that scripture is just." Then he said: "I read your books: I have read Barclay; he is no contemptible author; yet I think he might be answered in some points."

I replied: "That any ingenious person reading the works of another, with design to find fault, may find something, especially in a large performance, that he may think amiss, or wrest to such an appearance as he would have it: but every work should be examined with an impartial view, by a mind not prejudiced or prepossessed, comparing one part with another, till the true mind, intent, and meaning of the writer be discovered; and then, if any real error appear, to confute it by obvious truth; which needeth no gloss or

colour of sophistry : but when an opponent subtilly and wilfully wrests the words of his antagonist, and imposeth a meaning thereon the author did not intend, this opponent is a forger, combating his own invention, militates against himself, and is *felo de se* in argument."

Upon this the bishop generously acknowledged : "That no man ought to oppose the works of another, till he was fully master of the author's real sense, and did at least believe it to be wrong or heterodox."

Then I said : "That we had met with very hard usage in the house of lords, and particularly by the bishop of Rochester, the same who afterwards was banished for treasonable practices ; that at the same time when we, as a Christian people, were addressing the legislature of our native country, for liberty of conscience to serve God and our Lord Jesus Christ, in the way we judge most acceptable to Him, to be branded and accused in such a place and time, and on such an occasion, as not being Christians, but compared, by him, with Jews, pagans, and mahometans, is very uncharitable to say the least."

The bishop replied : "I do not approve that usage of you ; but he explained himself to mean no more, than that you are not perfect Christians ; that is, in the way *we* initiate people into religion."

I answered : “ Then it remains for you to prove, that none can be perfect Christians, unless initiated by you, or at least after your manner.” It being then near twelve o’clock, the bishop did not think proper to enter upon that subject. And, as he had said in the sequel of this discourse, he had read our books, I asked him “ if he had seen one, stiled ‘A Treatise of Oaths,’ written by William Penn?”

He said : “ He had not.”

Then I said : “ We had abundance of votes collected there, out of the writings of those you call fathers, on our side, against swearing in any case or way.”

To this he replied : “ That we ought not to depend upon numbers only, but consider the weight also.”

“ Granted,” said I : “ But you have neither weight nor number, that ever I have heard of, on your side ; for all who wrote on that subject in the primitive church, wrote against swearing, and not one in support of it under the Gospel ; but that crept in gradually, with other errors, as the church more and more degenerated into Jewish and antichristian practices in many instances.”

Then this good tempered and affable bishop requested : “ That if we had any books we valued more than others, I would oblige him

with a sight of them," which I gave him some expectation of; and, at parting, he took me by the hand, as we passed out of the room, in which we were, into another towards the door, and said: "I desire your prayers for me, as I also pray for you; we ought all to pray one for another." And so we parted in peace and goodwill, not the least word of warmth or a scornful look having appeared in all this conference.

I made inquiry after such of our books as I thought proper for him; but he going soon after into his diocese of York, and I into Suffolk, and cross the country into the west, in the service of Truth, which took about seven months time, I had no opportunity to see him till I returned to London. I then went to his house in the Strand for that purpose; but he not happening to be within; and my concerns not allowing me another opportunity for some weeks, in the mean time he was taken ill of the distemper whereof he died, so that I did not see him any more; and his death, through the respect I had conceived for his good qualities, affected me with a friendly concern.

With Dr. Bradford, Bishop of Carlisle.

Peter Fearon, an ancient minister, and John Irwin aforementioned, both Cumberland men,

went to solicit Dr. Bradford, bishop of Carlisle, in our favour, concerning the affirmation aforesaid, and altering the terms ; on occasion whereof he entered into an argument with them on the point of oaths under the Gospel, asserting, as usual, that Christ did only forbid swearing in communication ; but how they managed the point I know not, because not present, and do not remember they related to me the particulars ; but as they intended to make him another visit on the same account, they desired my company on that occasion, and provided the Treatise of Oaths aforesaid, as a present to him. We went to him together, finding none with him but — Sykes, a moderate clergyman, the same that printed a sermon on these words of Christ : ‘ My kingdom is not of this world,’ before Benjamin Hoadley, then bishop of Bangor, preached his on the same text, which made so much noise among themselves and the nation.

The bishop received us mildly and courteously, ordering seats to be set for us near himself ; and having heard our application for his favour concerning further ease by a new affirmation, and returned us a moderate and favourable answer, he began again upon the subject of oaths ; endeavouring to persuade us to think, that Christ prohibited oaths only in common conversation or communication : in which — Sykes likewise concurred. But they grounding

their opinion only upon the word communication in our English translation, and the other two Friends leaving the matter to me, I answered: "That if Christ did not prohibit all oaths in that doctrine, he did not advance the morality and righteousness of the Gospel above that of the Law in this point, as in every other particular there mentioned, he certainly did;" and added: "That there is not a word in this text, which by any tolerable construction, or by any propriety, can be rendered 'communication' from the Greek original. For the word is *Λογος*, the same used in the first of John, signifying word, or speech; which Word is Truth, signifying that the righteousness of the Gospel, abolishing oaths of all kinds, requires mankind to speak the truth one to another in honesty and sincerity, in all cases, as surely and certainly as they could upon oath." I then desired the bishop to inspect his Greek Testament on that occasion, which he readily did; and returning from his library, confessed that the word there translated communication, was *Λογος*, in the Greek, and did not offer any further argument upon the subject. Then I gave him the book which the Friends had put into my hands, telling him it was written on that subject, and desired him to peruse it at his leisure; and so we left him in friendship and peace.

Some time after this, being in London, Walter Newbury and I went to the bishop again, to request his favour in the house of lords concerning the affirmation; and he was come down to his hall, ready to take the air in his coach in the park, but stopped when he saw us come in, and received us kindly, and presently said: "I have read your book, and I will fetch it you."

I answered: "It was given him as a present, and desired it might be acceptable."

He thanked me, and immediately said: "That he believed that Christ and his apostles had forbid all oaths and swearing, and that the time would come when there would not be any such thing in the Christian world;" but added: "That the present state and circumstances of mankind could not bear such an exemption;" and said: "That you will own that some even among yourselves, in whom some immoralities appear, are not fit for the liberty and exemption you request for your people."

I answered: "That as mankind come into this world only in a natural state, our issue are as others in that respect; and when not subject to the example and instructions given them, may, and some of them do, degenerate into immoral practices of some sorts: though our Society takes all practicable care to prevent it, according

to the stated rules among us, and by all Christian ways and means. We pray for them, we example them, admonish, advise, exhort, reprove, and rebuke them as need may require; and, after all, if any one among us persist in evil, we proceed against such according to the rules of our Society, finally to deny them as not of our communion; and, this is all we do, or think we ought to do in such cases. And though some particular persons among us may not, in their younger times, come fully up in all things to the perfection of our profession; yet we hope in the main, as a Christian Society, we do. And though some among us do fall into things disagreeable to our profession; yet the bearing of false witness being so great an evil, and so easily discovered, we hope none among us would be guilty of it; but if any should, let the penalty of perjury be fully inflicted upon him: and therefore we are encouraged to make this application. And since, as thou hast been pleased to acknowledge, Christ and his apostles by their doctrine have prohibited all oaths and swearing of every kind, there must be a time wherein it must commence to be put in practice by some certain person, persons, or community.

“A nation is not born in a day; nor did the Lord Jesus himself call and convert all his disciples at once; it was a gradual work, though

in the hand of Him by whom the worlds were made. And as the Christian world, so called, hath suffered an exceeding great lapse and degeneracy from the doctrines, morality, sanctity, and practice of Christ and his apostles, and the other early primitives; so in the main they are more antichristians than Christians.

“And the Almighty, who makes choice of the foolish things of this world, whereby to confound the wisdom of the wise, the weak whereby to overcome the mighty, and even things that are not, to bring to nought the things that are, ‘that no flesh may glory before Him,’ having raised up and chosen us as a people, in and by whom to begin this reformation in religion, in doctrine and practice; not by human power, for that is against us; not by the wisdom of this world, of which we have little; nor the learning or acquirements thereof, which we do not pursue; but by the same grace through which our Lord Jesus Christ laid down his life upon the cross, for the redemption of mankind; wherewith being mercifully favoured of God, and having believed through the operation thereof in our hearts, we have hitherto suffered all things for his Name’s sake, which have been permitted to be inflicted upon us by this and other nations, where we have been raised up, or have come. And we hope we have given Christian proof of

our sincerity, to the minds of all sober and thinking people, that our religion is not some select notions of certain Gospel truths, but a real and practical thing; wherein we are supported, by the wisdom and power of God alone, as witnesses for Him on earth, and to the redemption and salvation brought to pass for us and in us, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

“And since you profess yourselves to be Christian bishops, for we applied to them all, and we apply to you for relief where our consciences are yet oppressed by laws, and where you, by your offices in the national church, have a share for the time being in the legislature, who, under the Almighty, alone can relieve us; if you will not in your stations contribute what you may towards that relief, at whose door will the oppression lie?”

The bishop heard me with Christian patience, and said: “We,” meaning the bishops and former parliament, “did not grant the affirmation that now is, under any other view, on our part, than as a solemn oath; for so we always understood it, and we thought your people had acquiesced under it: but seeing it does not suit you, I am for liberty for tender consciences, where that is the case. I am your friend herein.”

Then we returned him our hearty acknowledgments; upon which he took us by the

hands, and gave us his good wishes, and we departed in peace and satisfaction.

He was, after the banishment of Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, already mentioned in my conference with the bishop of York, translated to the see of Rochester.

With the Duke of Somerset.

The day whereon the act passed, in the morning, along with some others I waited on the duke of Somerset, at Northumberland house, by Charing Cross, to solicit his favour; and on that occasion I acquainted him, that I had heard, as I came, that both universities intended to petition against us, as the clergy in and about London, had already done; which might give us much more trouble and delay, if not bring our bill in danger; and therefore entreated that he would please to use his interest for the passing it into a law that day. Upon this he said: "Perhaps Oxford may attempt something that way, being influenced by some of the bishops, whom he mentioned, and the rest of that sort; but if they should, they are obnoxious, and will not be heard: and as to Cambridge, they have done nothing; and I * being their

* The duke was chancellor to the university.

head, they can do nothing without me; and to make you easy, they shall not do any thing against you in this concern." And then he said: "There are a company of fellows, calling themselves the clergy in and about the city of London, who have sent in a petition; wherein they pretend to blame both houses of parliament for encouraging a sect, which they rank with Jews, Turks, and other infidels; as if we were to be imposed upon by them, and receive their dictates, or knew not what we had to do without *their* directions. And besides, we do not know who they are; for there are above five hundred of the clergy in and about London, and we find only forty-one names to their petition, and these very obscure. Where is their Sherlock, their Waterland, or any of note amongst them?"

Then I informed the duke, that I had also heard that morning, that many of the petitioners were three-penny curates and unbeneficed.

The duke asked: "What are they?"

I replied: "That I had been informed they were poor clergymen, without benefices, and who had but few friends; and perhaps some of them nonjurors who hang on about the town, looking for preferment; and being very indigent, say prayers for the richer sort for three-pence a time, which is paid two-pence in farthings, and a dish of coffee."

This first occasioned the duke to smile, but drew from him afterwards some warm expressions of resentment, that the poorer sort should live so abjectly, whilst the rich were so high; but most of all that the rich should set so low a price on the services of their poor brethren, who did the work; and then he added: "We" meaning the legislature, "know how to apply a remedy, and relieve them; it is but to take off the pluralities, and make more equal distribution, and then these poor fellows may be better provided for and live."

Finding the duke in a temper to bear it at that time, for he was a great man, and naturally of a very high spirit, but good sense, I replied: "That the pluralities had for many ages been complained of as a very unreasonable thing in the church of Rome, where it first began, long before the time of the Reformation of the national church of England; and I have read a sermon of a good old reformer on that subject, one Bernard Gilpin, who composed it in the reign of Edward VI. with design to have preached it before that prince: but his opponents contrived some means to procure the king's absence at the time; yet the sermon was preached, inveighing heavily against pluralities as a great abuse; where then can the obstruction lie that it is not reformed at this day?"

To this the duke made no reply, but said : " I am ready to go to the house, where I would not have gone this day but only to serve you."

That day before noon the act was passed as it now is ; for which we were thankful, first to the Lord for his great goodness in inclining the heart of the king and those of both houses so much to favour us ; and next to them likewise, as instruments in His hand of so good a work, and so great an ease and help to us.

Joseph Wyeth being in a particular manner in favour with the king, no doubt his letter (*see page 227*) had good influence ; for the good king George I. very much favoured our applications, and passed the act for our relief in that case with all readiness, from a real favour to our Society, and a settled design and purpose to do us good ; and yet the whole is to be attributed to the goodness and mercy of God to his people, to preserve us as one in Him, who turneth the hearts of kings as the streams of water, and doth in the kingdoms of men whatsoever He pleaseth. And though some of the lords who were anti-courtiers, and opposers of all the king's measures did not assent ; yet not in dislike to our liberty ; and it was very obvious that the Divine Truth was over the legislature in a general way at that time.

Section III.

Visits the eastern Counties—Cambridge, Hertfordshire.—The midland and western counties.—Meets with a serious accident.—Returns to London.—Visits Cumberland.—Conference with Lord Lonsdale.

On the 25th of the 3rd month, 1722, I went from London, accompanied by Benjamin Holmes, and came that night to Chelmsford, from thence we went to Coggeshall and Colchester, to the Quarterly Meeting, and after to Woodbridge, Ipswich, Needham, Edmundbury, and Mildenhall, taking the meetings. ^a The afternoon meeting on first-day at Bury, on the 9th of the 4th month, was attended by Friends from divers parts, and a multitude of the town's people coming in, it was the largest known there; the house, galleries, and greatest part of the courtyard being filled. Some persons of note in the world were there; among whom was sir John Holland's lady, daughter of the earl of Yarmouth, and grand-daughter of king Charles II. a mild affable person. She came to the widow Dikes's, where I lodged, with whom she was acquainted, and drank a dish of tea with some of

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her sisters. We had some solid discourse concerning the meeting; which was open, though laborious, both by reason of its largeness, and the heat of the season. That night I continued there.

On the 11th, parting with Samuel Alexander, his wife, his sister, and niece, who all came from Needham on that occasion, I went to Mildenhall; where I lodged with Simon Burgess, and the day following had an appointed meeting there; which was large, considering it was the time of hay harvest; and a very open season the Lord was pleased to give us, in showers of heavenly rain, attended with some pruning and digging, in order to more fruit.^a

On the 13th of the 4th month, I had a meeting appointed at Cambridge, to which many of the scholars of the university came. I had good suitable matter for them; but alas! they were so wild, so airy, wanton, and foolish, that not many of them could be touched; yet several of them in time, grew more solid and attentive; and, I believe, the arrows of the Almighty did not miss them all. O that they had been still but one hour! for the advantage which might have accrued to them by the excellent openings I had that day, through the grace of God. The 14th, being their meeting day, I staid the meeting, which consisted only of a very few Friends, who

live there, and two or three of the neighbourhood who came in : it was sober and comfortable. From hence I went to Walden, Royston, Ware, and divers other meetings in Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

On the 6th of the 5th month, I was at Wycombe, where the meeting was large and very open, the power of the blessed Truth reigning triumphantly, and the meeting generally broken and comforted. I left an exhortation with them to keep up their testimony faithfully against the payment of tithes, that great support of anti-christian priestcraft. The next day I went to Oxford, where there are few of our Society, besides Thomas Nichols and his family : but the scholars come much more to meetings of late, than for many years past, and are not so rude as heretofore. It being the first-day of the week, many of them and others came to the meeting in the forenoon. ^b Some sat down and were quiet and solid ; others were restless and full of tricks, whisperings, &c. and one young man, not of them, played tricks with a spaniel dog. All which we bore as if it had not been. I had a great work of Truth in my spirit, and when I found it a fit time I delivered what was in my mind ; during which some went out ; but most of them staid the meeting and went away quietly. ^b In the afternoon the meeting was very

full, both of scholars, and other people of both sexes; most of the scholars were solid and attentive, and staid the meeting, there being but little lightness at all among them; so that we had a large, open, comfortable meeting; and, by the exercise of my own mind, the doctrines I had to deliver, and the love of Truth attending, I hope there was some good done that day; to the Lord be the praise, whose work alone it is to save: whether immediately or instrumentally, it is the Lord's!

I was after this at Witney, Burford, Milton, Cirencester, Tedbury, Painswick, Nailsworth, Sedbury; in some of these meetings a drowsiness appeared to the hindrance of the worship of God.

On the 20th of the 5th month, I was again at their meeting at Nailsworth, which was large and laborious, the more so because most of them were a young people, hardly convinced, and of little knowledge of Truth as it is in Christ Jesus; yet sober, as men, and hopeful. On the 22nd, I went to Bristol, and it being near the time of the fair, staid on purpose to attend the meetings, which are then usually larger than at other times: here I had very open service for the Lord, his Truth, and people.

On the 8th of the 6th month, I was at the meeting at Frenchay, which was open and

comfortable ; returning to Bristol, I staid till the 18th, and then went to the burial of a friend at Thornbury. On the 26th, was at the meeting at Claverham, which was pretty large, consisting mostly of young people, not yet much baptized into the nature of Truth, which made my exercise for them the harder.

On the 27th, I went to Chew-magna, on a visit to my ancient and much esteemed friend, the widow Elizabeth Vickris, I having been in my early time well acquainted in that family. On the 29th, I went to Sidcot meeting, and after that to Bridgewater ; and on the 1st of the 7th month, to Taunton, to Elizabeth Button's ; and the next day, being the first of the week, was at their meeting, both forenoon and after ; which were large and open, especially the latter. And their Monthly Meeting falling of course the next day, I tarried with them ; and the day following, had an evening meeting appointed there, for the most part for the sake of the neighbouring people ; who, though they are willing to come to our meetings, yet would not be seen there. This meeting was large, and the truths of the Gospel opened and flowed plentifully among them, to general satisfaction ; so that I am not without hopes, that some good might be effected in some of them, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which mercifully attended the meeting.

I went away very easy, and Friends rejoiced and were comforted. °

From thence I went to Wellington; and on the 6th of the 7th month, was at Spiceland meeting, where we had a good season together in Christ Jesus our Lord; though some sharp things were uttered, in the authority of Truth, to some states, especially the drowsy, sleepy, lukewarm, and indolent, who take up a false rest in that unhappy state, to the danger of their utter ruin, after many years fruitless profession of the Truth.

On the 7th, I was at Collompton, and that night lodged at Thomas Finnimore's, where came Thomas Beavan, from Melksham, who favoured us with the reading of his manuscript: "Proving that reason in man, and Divine Truth, are distinct things; though too many people, of divers denominations, some among ourselves not excepted, are ready to mistake one for the other, and establish their own reason, instead of Divine Truth—the spirit of man, with his fallacious reasonings, in which are endless wranglings, uncertainty, and confusion, instead of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; which leadeth man into all righteousness and Truth, with demonstrative certainty and undoubted assurance, which man's own reasoning, without the Light of Truth, could never do; any more than the eye can see

without the medium of Light, though its faculty of seeing, in itself, be ever so perfect.”

On the 8th, we went to Exeter, to the Yearly Meeting, which began the next day. This meeting was appointed by consent of the Yearly Meeting in London, and intended for the more effectual promulgation of Truth in the several counties to which it was confined, like those in the north; not meddling with matters of business or discipline, but only worship, doctrine, and occasional communication of holy things.

It was a good time throughout, but, as such meetings generally are observed to be, was brighter and brighter, and brightest in the end: for as they consist of a mixed multitude of different degrees and notions, the understandings of the uncouth and ignorant are darkest at first coming, and their senses benumbed; but as they come to be illuminated by the testimony of Truth, and their senses a little awakened to relish something of the sweetness and virtue of it, Truth then flows more freely unto them, with a greater facility in the minister, and more ready reception in the hearer; for the sensible and living, who, in the life of the Son, and as they stand related to Him who hath borne the infirmities of all from the foundation of the world, in the beginning of such meetings, are often deeply and mysteriously laden; but being eased of

their burthen and travail, now laid upon those in the auditory where it rightly belongs, things proceed and conclude to their mutual comfort and ease; which was much the case in this meeting: for the most part consisted of young uncultivated minds of our own natural offspring, and others who were strangers to the verbal testimony of Truth; yet there was a living people and ministry among us: and, as the crown of all, the presence of the everlasting Lord God, in some good degree, blessed our assembly. And the meeting of ministers, on the second-day morning, was most eminently favoured with it, to our mutual help and encouragement.

On the 13th, the Quarterly Meeting for the county of Somerset was held at Taunton, and was well filled with good Friends. The Lord gave me an open utterance at that time and a free reception, to my satisfaction, and the hearts of Friends were freely opened in the same; for He who openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth, and who hath and hath the key of David, was there, and blessed us together in one Name, unto which we bowed, and in which we worshiped and adored Him who liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for evermore! Our spirits being thus refreshed in the presence of the Lord, the concerns of the

meeting for business were carried on and finished with unity and comfort.

On the 15th, I set forward for Bridgewater, and in the way my horse taking fright, by suddenly meeting a man leading a dog, he turned round at once, and run back with heady fury, so that I could by no means stop him, but was at length thrown off, and much hurt. ^b I met with great kindness from the officers and soldiers of three companies of foot who were on the road; but after declining the assistance of their doctor, with an acknowledgement of their kindness, I found myself more injured than I had expected; and was obliged to stop on the road half an hour before I mounted again; however I got to Bridgewater, and by the kind attention of my friends so far recovered as to ^b attend a meeting there the following day, in the evening, which was large; and the whole service of it, as to an outward ministry, falling upon me, I was not sensible of any deficiency or weakness from all my bruises; but as the Lord was pleased to work in and by me in a good degree, affording healing virtue by the same power, I was from that time little sensible of any danger, but recovered far beyond my own expectation, or that of others.

After being at Marks and Claverham, I went to Bristol, where Friends were glad of my return,

and escape of so great danger ; I was also glad to find them in peace and love. I staid here till the 26th, having some as open times as ever I knew in this place, to general satisfaction, as well as my own great consolation : my testimony tending, in the main, to a visitation of the love of Truth to the young generation, many of them being touched with a sense of the Lord's goodness therein !

I went from hence to Bath, where I attended the service of Truth for some time, many of the nobility and gentry frequenting our meetings. ^c When the season was nearly over, the cold weather setting in, I took cold and was ill two weeks ; so that before I removed we had less of such company, and the Lord was pleased to give us some more select times and enjoyments of his good presence in our own less mixed assemblies ; and we were greatly comforted together : all which obliged me to stay there till the 17th of the 9th month. ^c

On the 18th of the 9th month, I was at Bradford, and after at several other meetings in Wiltshire, and at Newbury, Henley, Reading, and Maidenhead. ^d At Henley no notice being given, the meeting was small : yet we were favoured with the experience of the fulfilling of that good promise of old, that ' where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in

the midst of you;’ though of these few, some never were at any of our meetings before; and things opened more largely than we could have expected in so small a gathering. ^d

On the 4th of the 10th month, I had a meeting, in the evening, at Windsor, a great many of the town’s people coming in. And as we had often before been concerned to declare the universal love of God to mankind, so about this time I felt much of it, even a dispensation of it to the people in most places; and many great and necessary Truth’s were declared, as the Lord opened, on that occasion, with good authority, and clear proofs out of the Holy Scriptures, both of the prophets, and also of the apostles of Christ. The gravity of Truth was over and upon the people; and they departed from the place, when the meeting was over, under a grave and solid concern. And the Lord gave me great peace, as a full reward in that work, blessing me as a co-worker with Himself, the great master workman therein.

On the 5th, I went to Jordan week-day meeting, which was but small, most of the ancients, who were once numerous there, being deceased, and their reward sure for ever! That evening I returned to Windsor, and was at the week-day meeting there the next day; the meeting ended about mid-day. I went that afternoon to Staines,

where I fell in with their meeting, which is usually in the evening; and as they had heard of my intentions that way, they had given notice to some of the neighbours, and the meeting was larger than usual, and very open, much beyond my expectation. But the goodness of the Lord is boundless, and the treasures of his wisdom not to be searched out or exhausted; which He freely dispenses and opens, when and where, and in what manner and degree He pleases, to the purposes of his own glory, and good of souls. Some renewed instances of it were here witnessed, to the affecting many with his goodness, to his own praise, who is worthy of all dominion, praise, and thanks for evermore!

The day following I went to London, where I met with a kind reception from Friends in general, and great openness in several meetings among them, in which the Lord gave evidence of his presence and power with me in his service, as at many other times it had so pleased Him.

I continued in London visiting the meetings, and was at some places adjacent, till the 4th of the 2nd month, 1723, when I set forward for Chester, where the meeting had been appointed for this year, and arrived there on the 8th: the meeting was very large, and very open towards the people, as well as Friends; for the universal

love of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord to mankind, was not only preached, but in some measure enjoyed among us! At the last meeting there were about three thousand; and, by the goodness of the Lord, preserved in good order.

On the 12th, I went to Wrexham; from thence to Shrewsbury, and was at the meetings there on first-day; the same evening I went to Presteign, on the border of Wales, in order to that Yearly Meeting, which began the day following; people came from many places round, and it was a very large meeting; many gospel truths were opened, by the grace of God, therein; and the Truth, in some good degree, was in dominion over the people. After this I went to Leominster, Worcester, Evesham, and Oxford; from thence to London, where I staid some time, having divers of my own concerns to order, as well as those of others; and I likewise visited the meetings, till the 7th of the 9th month, when I set forward for Cumberland; and taking meetings in the way, came to Justice Town, the place of my nativity, on the 16th of the 10th month; having purchased the patrimonial estate of my brother's widow, the last summer; and, in the winter, I resided for the most part at my friend Isaac Huntington's, at Carlisle.

I remained in this country about two years, and was at the Yearly Meeting for the northern counties at Carlisle; and with John Irwin and

some other Friends, had meetings at fresh^{an} born in the summer following. Attending meet^{ing} to as they fell in course in the county; and was ^{at} the Yearly Meeting held at Kendal, in the year 1725, which was the largest I ever saw there, and very open.

During my abode in this country, having some concerns with the lord Lonsdale, I went to Lowther Hall, where he then resided, to attend him therein; he showed me more respect than I desired or expected; and, after I had finished my business with him, he moved some discourse on religious subjects, the chief of which was, the knowledge of God, and by what means mankind may arrive at it; in which I was drawn out to this purport: "That many wise and ingenious men apply themselves, with success, to the knowledge of things in this life, and what is relating thereto, and yet keep not within the strict rules of virtue; for want of which their knowledge vanishes in the end, as not subservient to the purposes of another world: therefore I recommended to a real enquiry after the knowledge of God, as the most noble, and most profitable subject a rational being could be concerned about, and altogether necessary, in order to our happiness, as well in this as in a future state; which man can never arrive at by the utmost efforts of human reason; for though those

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“ And though in all these attributes we read of Him in the Holy Scriptures, and hear clear discourses of Him frequently made by such as say they know Him, and perhaps in some measure may ; yet all this is but an image of knowledge, as to us, until by the agency of his own power and will, He is pleased to work in us those qualifications whereby we may perceive Him, through that holy and blessed medium which He himself hath, in good will to mankind, provided for that end ; that we may believe in Him, hope for Him, know Him, have communion with Him in a degree in this life, and be for ever blessed in the enjoyment of Him in a future state.

“ Of this knowledge no man can rightly conceive, by any thing another can say who hath that knowledge, unless He to whom it is said or declared, be in Himself, in some degree, under the same qualifications, by which the things declared are self-evidencing by their own nature

and energy: as for example, to a man born blind, another can find no terms whereby to give him a proper and distinct idea of colours, of light, and the manner of the discovery of objects by that medium unto those that see; whereas every one that hath the use of his sight, concludes the same thing by a kind of sensitive intuition, at first view, without the expence of ratiocination, or deducing conclusions from stated premises: nor if we can suppose any one has never in his life been touched with any sense of that natural affection or principle we call love; is it possible, by any terms that may be used, to inculcate in such a person an idea of the thing; whereas all who experience it, are affected in the same manner, though perhaps not to the same degree, and need no other terms but its own designation to inculcate it.

“Since then, in natural things it is impossible to exhibit proper ideas, to the apprehensions of those who are deprived of natural qualifications and capacities to receive them; how much more so in spiritual, since we cannot find out proper terms by which to exhibit them to the view or apprehension of others, but as we borrow these from natural things; which, as such, can never explain spiritual. When it is said: ‘God is a Spirit,’ a man must have an idea of a

spirit, before he can fix any notion of God by that term; and by the word "God," we intend to express an awful and ineffable Being: but none of these terms exhibit that Being to our sense, either in fear or love. I come then to some positive expressions of Christ: viz. 'No man hath known the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him. This is Life Eternal to know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. No man can come unto Me, except the Father which hath sent Me draw him. No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten, or first begotten, Son of God, who dwelleth in the bosom of the Father, He hath manifested, or revealed Him.'

"By this it appears, *First*, That God may be known, though not immediately, but by a proper medium."

"*Secondly*, That this medium is Christ, the Word of God; who having a reasonable soul, and clothed therewith as a veil, is homogenial to mankind, and thereby proportions the splendour of his glory as God, to the state of every soul, gradually revealing or manifesting the Father therein, according to the degrees of purification, capacity, and qualification He worketh in it.

"*Thirdly*, That this knowledge is an experi-

ence, and gives the soul a certain evidence and assurance of Eternal Life; and God himself is that Life Eternal.

“*Fourthly*, That as the knowledge of the Son makes way for the knowledge of the Father, so the drawings of the Father excite to the knowledge of the Son.

“It is not therefore the knowledge of God’s attributes, or all formal truths, but of God himself, who is the Essential Truth, in which our happiness stands, and for ever shall remain: for there are essential truths, and there are formal truths: Jesus Christ the wisdom of God, and power of God, is that Essential Truth. And that He is the Son of God, was incarnate, lived as a man here on earth, was crucified as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, died, rose again, ascended, is glorified in heaven, &c. are all formal, unalterable truths; and yet the knowledge of these do not give Life Eternal, until the soul comes to experience the indwelling of the Essential Truth, in its nature and being, through that holy and blessed medium, homogenial unto all; which it cannot do until we are reduced unto a state of holiness and purity of mind.

“To illustrate all I have said in a practical way, give me leave to add—whilst I was in a natural and unconverted state, I believed the

being of God, and all his attributes; but I did not actually know God to be righteous or holy, till He reprov'd unrighteousness or unholiness in me; or merciful and good, until through condemnation of evil, convincing me of evil in myself, He also pardoned the acts of sin, and destroyed the effects thereof by the agency of his own power, working that change which is meet, according to his own Will; through which I experience both his goodness and mercy. Nor had I known Him as a consuming fire, unless by the refining operation of his Spirit, He had consumed my corruptions, or begun that work; or that He is love, Divine, unspeakable love, unless by his own power, He had fitted me in some measure, to enjoy the influences of his grace, in a state of holiness; in which He rules as a monarch in the soul, according to that saying: 'The kingdom of heaven stands not in meats and drinks,' not in outward or natural enjoyments, 'but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;' which, through grace, I know infinitely transcends, even in this life, all that can be named besides.

“And though formal truths are commonly clouded and confounded by the perverse and ignorant reasonings of the learned of this world, and numerous opinions and sects are produced

thereby; yet the Essential Truth is self-evidencing; and whenever it appears in the soul, she cannot deny or doubt; but through the cogency of his power and virtue, certainly and infallibly concludes in herself, that this is He: for as there is no way or medium by which we perceive the body of the outward sun in the firmament of heaven, but by the light which proceeds from it; so there is not any medium by which we can know God, but by his own Light and Truth, which is Jesus Christ, the efflux and emanation of his own glory and being.

“And as the light of the sun carries along with it the power and virtue of the sun, wherever it shineth in its unclouded rays; and by its influence nourishes and makes fertile the animal and vegetable worlds; even so and much more also doth the heavenly Son of Righteousness, Jesus Christ, the Essential Truth, and Light of the rational and intellectual world, make known and manifest Himself in the soul; into whom, by the rays of his Divine Light, He introduceth and dispenseth the influence of all Divine and heavenly virtue. I mean into those who believe and obey in the day of small things; according to that doctrine of an experienced holy man: * ‘All things that are

* Ephes. v. 13.

reproved, are made manifest by the Light; for whatsoever doth make manifest, is Light.' And according to that saying of the Truth Himself: * 'I am the Light of the world; he that followeth Me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the Light of Life.'

"We must therefore begin at the word of reproof, in order to the sure knowledge of God, and enjoyment of Him, as He is love, and an ocean of unspeakable pleasure; and renounce the low and sordid pleasures of the animal life, which disqualify for Divine enjoyments here and hereafter. We must love God, love his judgments and reproofs, which are all in love, in order to the manifestation of Himself, agreeably to his own declaration; 'Every son whom I love, I rebuke and chasten.' And I can testify, that as I have tasted of the pleasures of this world, and through the goodness of God, known condemnation therein; so through his great mercy, I am favoured of Him with this certain experience, in some measure, that the enjoyment of God, in a state of reconciliation, is undeclarably more excellent and eligible than all other things: to the experience whereof I would recommend ——"

After I had said thus much, the lord Lonsdale

asked me: "Since you had, before you came to the knowledge of God in the way you have spoken of, believed the being of God, and all his attributes, did that knowledge make any alteration in your way of thinking on this subject, or give you any contrary sentiments that way?"

I replied: "No; for as reason, a constituent property of man, is still the same, and things causeable thereto or thereby, as its proper objects, the same also; so the knowledge of God makes no alteration there, though reason of itself can never give the saving and experimental knowledge of the Almighty, as I have before observed."

Then he was pleased to say: "Some things you have hinted at are new to me, which I have never read of in any book, or heard before."

Thus the conversation at that time came to a conclusion about one in the morning, and then we went to rest, there being only one person besides myself and the lord Lonsdale present.

Upon another similar occasion, after this, I had some further discourse with the same person, on the subject of tithes. He alleged: "That kings and great men, being possessed of countries, and large quantities of land, gave the tenths for the support of ministers; and

that the same laws which gave nine parts to the laity, gave the tenth to the clergy.”

To this I replied : “ That the law gives no property, but protects the possessor in it against violence.” Then I deduced property from its original, thus : “ The first property a man hath is his person, life, and liberty ; and as these are from God, and the right of all men, so He has provided means for the support of them unto all. The means of the support of person and life, is food and raiment, arising either naturally from the fruits of the earth spontaneously growing ; animal creatures ; or by the personal labour or industry of man. Cain it is said, was a tiller of the ground, and Abel a keeper of sheep. When Cain had cleared and cultivated a piece of ground, and propagated useful things thereon, that and those became the property of Cain by his personal labour ; in which the law of natural reason would protect him against any thing, but personal violence. And Abel taking under his care and management some of the creatures he found most proper for his use and purpose, they became his property by his care, labour, and pains ; in which also he was protected by the same law. And all just laws are no other than right reason, declared by way of compact upon that principle of reason constituent of our being.

But when the earth was filled with violence, God, by the element of water, destroyed the world, save Noah and his family, by whom he replenished it.

“In process of time, Nimrod became a mighty hunter before the Lord; that is, his hunting was of such a nature and tendency, as that God took notice of him therein: for he, with his company, first hunting wild beasts, became wild also themselves, and then” [there seems no doubt they] “hunted after the liberties and properties of other men, invading them by force and numbers; till the rest of mankind, in their own just defence, entered into reasonable compacts against unreasonable invasions, repelling an unjust violence by a just and equitable force or power.”

“Having assayed to fix a proper idea of the rise of property, I next observe, how men may forfeit it in all these respects, in the sight of God; and that is by extreme wickedness, as may be instanced in a malefactor, who by his evil deeds, forfeits his life, liberty, or property, or all: but then no private person can take cognizance of the offences incurring such forfeitures, other than to bear witness against the offender, in order to conviction and adequate punishment before a stated judicature; of which no nation is destitute, though varying in circumstances.

“ Since then property in lands, &c. cannot be justly taken away from any one not forfeiting it, without consent, what is the consent necessary to that end? It must either be in a public or private capacity; private, as by his own particular act to give such lands to such a minister or priest, on condition of certain services, or for the service of religion in general, according to the notion the donor had of it; or public, as where the legislature of any country, for politic views and interests, make laws for the alienation of the property of the subjects with or without their private or particular consent, where, though property is truly invaded, yet the major directing the minor, the compulsion to obedience is held lawful and just, whatever it may be in the nature of the thing; and particulars sit under the burden. But all this binds not the conscience, though property is forced.

“ All which I apply as followeth; this nation was once free from all tithes, and other impositions of that sort, till antichristian priestcraft, more subtil than that of the heathen, so far seduced the minds of weak and ignorant men, prone to superstition and idolatry, that they often gave away to the priests the whole, or greatest part of their substance, at least on their dying beds, for pretended chimerical services;

as praying the departed souls of themselves or friends out of a supposed purgatory, with certain masses; which so far prevailed in this nation, that the legislature, fearing the whole lands would in time fall into the hands of the clergy, made a law called the statute of mortmain, as a means to prevent it; which in some degree, answered the end, and clogged their proceedings.

“But I do not remember to have seen any law, by the legislature of this kingdom, for imposing tithes, or so much as for the recovery of them, or any thing to the priests under the notion of dues, until the reign of king Henry VIII; when men’s eyes began to be so far opened, that many refused to pay them, as appears by the preamble of the statutes, made for that end in his reign; which establishes the customs on foot in favour of the priests, for forty years before; no doubt originally of their own beginning and imposing. These statutes being defective, were corroborated by the second statute of Edward VI. still in force. By all which it appears, this set of men never came fairly and equitably by the large share they demand, and receive out of the property of others; especially of those who cannot receive them as gospel ministers; since the Author of religion Himself hath commanded

his ministers; * 'That as freely they have received, they shall freely give.'

"The laws of the land therefore, upon the whole, though they bind the property, by a sort of national violence, yet they can never bind the conscience. For which, and the Lord of conscience, we suffer with patience, as witnesses on earth for Him who reigneth in heaven; until, in the course of his providence, He may appear for our relief, who is the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and doth what He will in and with the kingdom of men."

My noble antagonist replied, not without a little pleasantness: "He would not yet yield me the argument;" though he was pleased to propose another subject of a different tenor.

Here it may not be unacceptable to the reader, to have a brief view of the history of tithes in the Christian Church, and particularly in reference to our own country.

To those conversant with the Holy Scriptures, it is scarcely needful to state that the giving of a tenth to the Lord, appears to have originated in Abraham's giving unto Melchisedeck king of Salem, and priest of the Most High God, tithes of all the spoil which he had recovered or taken from the confederate kings, who had taken Lot his brother and all his goods, with those

* Matt. x. 8.

of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Jacob followed the example of Abraham when he fled with his staff only from the presence of his brother Esau. In gratitude for the assurance of Divine favour received at Bethel, he vowed and said unto God: "Of all that Thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto Thee."

The tenths or tithes were ordained by the mosaic law to be paid to the whole tribe of Levi, in consideration of their services in the temple of the Lord, and of their receiving NO INHERITANCE in the division of the LAND; nor even of houses, except barely a few cities and their suburbs, for their residences. Of these tithes, the poor, the widow, and the fatherless were to partake according to their necessities.

The English word tithe or tithes is of Saxon origin, and signifies what every one now understands it to convey, the tenth part or portion; but it is as devoid of affinity to the Hebrew word which is employed to express the tenth or tithes, as the present system of English tithes is totally different from that appointed by Moses under the Law.

Many efforts have been made to establish a Divine right to tithes under the Gospel; but they have completely failed; nor *can* any thing be more at variance than the present system, with the command of Christ to his disciples: "Freely ye have received, freely give."

So completely exploded is now the idea of Divine right to tithes under the Gospel, that scarcely an observation need be offered upon it. The remarks of the highest prelate in the church, the archbishop of Canterbury, so long since as about the year 1720, at least may suffice. He says: "As to the right of our *maintenance as ministers*, whether of Divine right or by the laws

only, we are divided in our sentiments; but for my own part, for me to think I have this house," (lifting up his hand to the ceiling, at Lambeth palace,) "or my bishoprick by Divine right, there is NOTHING IN IT."

We may now proceed to the history of tithes in the Christian Church.

In the very early times of the Gospel, many Christians both in Jerusalem, and at Alexandria in Egypt, sold their possessions, and lived together on the produce of their common stock. Others in Antioch, Galatia, and Pontus, retained their estates in their possession, but established a fund, consisting of weekly or monthly offerings for the support of the brethren. This fund continued in after times: but was PRINCIPALLY for the relief of the POOR and DISTRESSED, in which the Ministers of the Gospel, IF IN THAT SITUATION, might also share.

Tertullian, in speaking of such funds, gives the following account: "Whatsoever we have in the treasury of our churches, is not raised by taxation, as though we put men to ransom their religion; but every man, once a month, or when it pleaseth him, bestoweth what he thinks proper; but not except he be willing: for no man is compelled, but left free to his own discretion. And that which is thus given is not bestowed in vanity, but in relieving the poor; and upon children destitute of parents; and in the maintenance of aged and feeble persons; and of men wrecked by sea; and of such as have been condemned to metallic mines; or have been banished to islands; or have been cast into prison, professing the Christian faith." *

In process of time, towards the close of the third

* Selden, c. iv. § 1.

century, some lands were first given to the Church.* The revenue from these was thrown into the general treasury or fund; and was distributed, as other offerings were, by the deacons and elders: but neither Bishops nor Ministers of the Gospel, were allowed to have any concern therein. It appears from Origen, Cyprian, Urban, Prosper, and others, that if in those times such ministers were able to support themselves, they were to have nothing from this fund. But if such ministers stood in need of sustenance, they might be relieved from it. They were, however, to be satisfied with simple diet, and necessary apparel. And so sacred was this fund held to the purposes of its institution, that the first Christian emperors, who did as the bishops advised them, had no recourse to it, but supplied the wants of ministers of the Gospel from their own revenues; as Eusebius, Theodoret, and Sozomen relate.

In short, in those early times of the church, ministers were maintained only where their necessities required it, and this, in common with other necessitous persons, out of the fund for the poor. Those who partook of this fund, had the particular appellation given them of "Sportularii," or "Basket-Clerks," because, according to Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, and others, they had their portion of sustenance given them in baskets. These portions consisted of but small pittances, sufficient only for their livelihood; and were given them on the principle laid down by our Lord, *Luke x. 7, 8.* that the ministers of Jesus Christ were to eat and drink only such things as were set before them.

It is conceded by all competent evidences, that hitherto all the churches were congregational, and so

* Selden c. iv. § 1.

far independent as to exercise no legislative domination in each others' assemblies; and that they all enjoyed the privilege of choosing their own pastors. Though ambition had begun to operate, there were at this time no distinctions among the ministers of religion, but those which are found in the New Testament; none of those ranks and orders for which no authority is found there, and which are common in modern times: These and also the lordly titles conferred on those who profess to be the ministers of an humble and crucified Redeemer, owe their origin to a later and more corrupt period of the church. *

The way for this defection was first paved by the Emperor Constantine the great, on his embracing the Christian religion, in the early part of the fourth century, and becoming the head of the church, as he had before been the high priest of Paganism. This ever to be lamented union of church and state, naturally led many persons of wealth and rank to become Christians in profession, who, in imitation of their master, made liberal grants to the hierarchy, and studied to render the Christian ministry and worship as splendid as that of the heathen priests and temples; instead of adhering to the simple record of apostolic precepts and injunctions.

It was however about the beginning of the fourth century that the innovation upon the funds of the church was made, diverting them from their accustomed channel of supplying the necessities of its ministers, *in*

* Considering these titles and distinctions are the offspring of apostacy, the recent practice among dissenting ministers of accepting and applying to themselves, or to one another, the title of "reverend," appears worthy of their most serious consideration; and, may it not be added, of their utter rejection, as an inlet to very serious defection. We read of no reverend Pauls, no reverend Peters in the Holy Scriptures, nor of any such title being applied to Apollos, or Barnabas.

common with those of other *poor*, by an authoritative decree; by which, about that time, Sylvester the bishop of Rome, commanded: "That the revenues of the church should be divided into four parts: *One* for the bishop, for his *own* support;—a *second* for presbyters, deacons, and all the clergy;—a *third* for the repairs of places for worship;—and" the remaining "*fourth*" only, "for the poor, afflicted, and travellers."

The bishop of Rome however had not yet attained to the power of the pontificate, so that the influence of this decree was probably for a time very limited.

The Council of Antioch, in the year 340, finding fault with the deacons relative to the management of the funds of the churches, ordained that the bishops might distribute them; but that they should take *no part of them to themselves*, or for the use of the *priests and brethren who lived with them*, unless NECESSITY REQUIRED IT; using the words of the apostle: "Having food and raiment, be therewith content."

In the year 359, Constantius the Emperor having summoned a general council of bishops to Ariminum in Italy, and provided for their subsistence there, the British and French bishops judging it not decent to live on the public, chose rather to live at their own expense. Three only, out of Britain, compelled by want, but yet refusing assistance offered to them by the rest, accepted the Emperor's provision: judging it more proper to subsist by public, than by private support.

This delicate conduct of these bishops, shows, that Ministers of the Gospel did not then officiate for hire, and that where they had the power of maintaining themselves, they had no disposition to look up to the public.

At the latter end of the fourth century, and from this period to the eighth, several changes took place in the

system. Ministers of the Gospel began to be supported all of them without distinction, from the FUNDS OF THE POOR. This circumstance occasioning a greater number to be provided for than before, the people were solicited for greater contributions than had been ordinarily given. Ambrose bishop of Milan, who was canonized as a saint, urged a Divine right to tithes, grounded on the mosaic law. Jerome and Chrysostom, who were alike dignified by the popish church, only exhorted the people to give bountifully of their substance to the POOR, and double honour to those who laboured in the Lord's work.* But though they left the people at liberty to bestow what they pleased, they gave it as their opinion, that they ought not to be less liberal than the ancient Jews, who, under the Levitical law, gave a tenth of their property to the priesthood and to the poor.†

The tithe or tenths continued to be recommended by those who succeeded in the government of the church; by Augustine bishop of Hippo, by Pope Leo, by Gregory, by Severin among the Christians in Pannonia,‡ and by others. Their exhortations however on this subject, were now enforced with promises and threats. Pardon of sins, and future rewards, were held out on the one hand; and it was suggested on the other, that the people themselves would be reduced to a tenth, and the blood of all the poor who died would be upon their heads,§ if they gave less than a tenth of their income to holy uses.

After exhortations of this nature, reiterated for three

* Selden c. v. § 4.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. ch. v. § 1.

§ Ibid. ch. v. § 4.

centuries, it began at length to be expected of the people, that they would not give less than an equivalent to tithes or tenths. No right, however, was alleged to such a proportion of their income, nor was coercion ever spoken of. These tenths also were for holy uses, of which the claims of the poor formed the principal part. They were in consequence called the Lord's goods, and were also denominated the PATRIMONY OF THE POOR.

A corresponding change, important in its issue took place within the period just assigned. Ministers of the Gospel now lived wholly out of this fund, which was constituted of the tenths and of legacies; and the misapplications of the portions of it, which, contrary to former usage, had been set apart for their use by the decree of the bishop of Rome, as already mentioned, had grown into a custom. Hence on the conversion to Christianity of Ethelbert, the fifth king of Kent and sixth of Britain, about the year 600, these proportions of the church funds were recommended by Augustine the monk, to the practice of our Saxon ancestors; but with this admonition, "that in the tenderness of the English Saxon church, he [the bishop] and his clergy should still imitate the community of all things, used in the primitive times under the apostles."*

Thus the maintenance of the ministers, consisting of two orders, together with the repairs of monasteries, &c. took now *three-fourths* of the church fund; so that the face of things began to be materially altered. For whereas formerly this fund went chiefly to the poor, yielding at the same time some provision for the Ministers of the Gospel, it now went PRINCIPALLY to the

* Selden ch. ix. § 2.

Ministers of the Gospel, yielding at the same time *some* provision for the poor.

Another change must be noticed with respect to the principle on which the gifts towards this fund were offered. For whereas tenths had been formerly solicited, on the Christian duty of charity to the poor, they were now solicited on the principle, that by the law of Moses they ought to be given for holy uses, in which the benefit of the fatherless, the stranger, and the widow, was included.

In process of time, as the bishops became otherwise provided for, the fund was divided into three parts, for the other three purposes mentioned in the decree of Sylvester.

In the eighth century, the notion was pretty fully instilled that the people were to GIVE no less than a tenth of their income to holy uses. Bishops generally, at this time, and indeed long previous to this, lived in monasteries.* Their clergy also lived with them in these monasteries, and went from thence to preach in the country within the diocess. And the compulsory system was not yet adopted.

Towards the latter part of this century, Pepin, a subject of great authority under Childeric, the third king of France, obtained leave from the Pope to dethrone his lawful sovereign, and to seize his crown. In addition to other presents and grants to the church in return for this indulgence of the pope, Pepin obtained a law, obliging all his subjects to give a tithe of their incomes to support the church, throughout his dominions. This grant of tithe took place in 764; and was the origin of CIVIL LAW for the support of the church.

* Selden ch. 4. § 1.

Childeric when stripped of his royalty, was immured in a monastery for life; but the introduction of tithes BY LAW into England, originated in even a fouler deed than that of Pepin. Offa, king of Mercia having a daughter who was espoused to Ethelbert, king of the East Angles; and the time for celebrating the nuptials being arrived, Ethelbert went to receive his bride. Offa who it seems only pretended to marry his daughter to Ethelbert, in order to accomplish the worst of crimes, made an entertainment for his professedly intended son-in-law; but instead of giving his daughter to Ethelbert, Offa killed him at the banquet. The murderous Offa fled to the pope for pardon; to please whom, and vainly expecting to expiate his own sin, he caused those tithes to become dues in his own dominions, which were before only at the will of the donor.* This was in 794, and extended only to the kingdom of Mercia.

About sixty years afterwards, anno 855, Ethelwolf, or Athelwolphus, a weak and superstitious prince, having been designed by his father to be bishop of Winchester, was worked upon by the clergy to extend tithes as dues, to the whole kingdom. He had been educated in a monastery; but was afterwards taken out and absolved of his vows by the pope. Having been thus fitted for the encroaching views of the clergy, he consented to the grant of tithes under a notion that he was thus to avert the judgments of God, which they represented as visible in the frequent ravages of the Danes; † also for the pardon of his sins and the health of his soul; and that not only whilst he lived; but AFTER HIS DECEASE: POOR LAYMEN, however, were still to be supported out of these tithes;

* Selden p. 201. † Ibid. ch. viii. § 4, and Stratten p. 18.

and the people were still at liberty to pay them to whatever religious persons they pleased.

At this time there were other monasteries under abbots or priors, consisting mostly of lay-persons, and distinct from those already mentioned; and which were supported by offerings and legacies in the same manner. The latter, however, not having numerous ecclesiastics to support, laid out more of their funds than the former were enabled to do, towards the entertainment of strangers and the support of the poor. And when monasteries of these two different kinds existed, the people were at liberty to pay their tithes to either of them, as they pleased; and having this permission, they generally favoured the latter.* To these they not only paid their tithes, but gave their donations by legacy. This preference of the lay-abbeyes, to the ecclesiastical, arose from a knowledge that the POOR, for WHOSE BENEFIT TITHES HAD BEEN ORIGINALLY PREACHED UP, would be thereby more materially served.

Other circumstances too occurred, which induced the people to continue the same preference. For the bishops in many places began to abuse their trust, as the deacons had done before, by attaching the bequeathed lands to their sees; so that the inferior clergy and the poor became in a manner dependent upon them for their daily bread. In other places the clergy had seized all to their own use. The people, therefore, so thoroughly favoured the lay-abbeyes in preference to those of the church, that the former became daily richer, while the latter did little more than maintain their ground. This preference, however, which made such a difference between the

* Selden ch. x. § 2.

funds of the ecclesiastical, and of the lay-monasteries, was viewed with a jealous eye by the clergy of those times; and measures were at length taken to remove it.

The next authentic mention of tithes appears to be contained in a compact between Guthrum the Dane, and king Alfred and his son Edward the elder, about the year 900: In this kind of treaty, as Guthrum was a pagan, provision was made for the Christian clergy under his dominion, by the payment of tithes being enjoined, and enforced by a penalty on the non-observance. And this law was supported by the laws of Athelstan, about the year 930.*

About the close of the tenth century, Edgar took from the people the right of disposing of their tithes at their own discretion, and directed that they should be paid to the parish churches. But the other monasteries or lay-houses resisting, his orders became useless for a time. At this period the lay-monasteries were rich, but the parochial clergy were poor.

In a council under pope Alexander the third, in the year 1180, it was determined that the liberty of the people should be restrained with respect to their tithes. They were accordingly forbidden to make appropriations to religious houses without the consent of the bishop in whose diocess they lived.† But even this prohibition did not succeed. The people still favoured the lay-abbeys, paying their tithes there.

To show the fallacious principles upon which princes acted with respect to tithes in these times, the following translation of a preamble to a charter of king Stephen, granted to the priory of Eyc, in Suffolk, in the year 1137,

* Jacobs Law Dict. Tithes. I.

† Selden ch. vi. § 7.

may be produced: "Because through the Providence of Divine mercy we know it to be ordered, and by the Church's publishing it far and near, every body has heard, that by the *distribution of alms*, persons may be **ABSOLVED** from the bonds of **SIN**, and acquire the rewards of heavenly joy,—I, Stephen, by the grace of God, king of England, being willing to have a share with those who, by a happy kind of commerce, exchange heavenly things for earthly, and smitten with the love of God, and for the *salvation* of my own soul, and the *souls of my father and mother*, and **ALL MY FOREFATHERS AND ANCESTORS**,—do give unto God and to the church of Saint Peter. &c." *

In the year 1200, pope Innocent the Third, settled the affair, by sending out to king John his famous decree, which was to be observed in England, as well as in other places under his jurisdiction; and by which it was enacted that every man was to pay his tithes to those only who administered spiritual help to him in his own parish: on this occasion, the pope set up ecclesiastical courts, thundered out his interdicts, and frightened both king and people.

In a general council, held at Lyons, in the year 1274, it was further decreed, that it was no longer lawful for men to pay their tithes where they pleased, as before; but that they should pay them to Mother-Church. †

Richard the Second confirmed these tithes to the parishes as thus settled by this pope; but it was directed by an act, that, in all appropriations to churches, the bishop of the diocess, should ordain a convenient sum of money to be distributed, out of the fruit and

* Seiden c. xi. § 1.

† Seiden ch. vii. § 1.

profit of every living, among the poor parishioners, annually, in aid of their living and sustenance. "Thus, it seems," says Judge Blackstone, "the people were frequently sufferers by the withholding those alms, for which, among other purposes, the payment of tithes was originally imposed." At length tithes were fully confirmed, and in a more explicit manner, by the famous act of Henry the eighth, on this subject. And here it may just be observed, that whereas, from the eighth century to this reign, tithes, whenever the reason of them was expressed, were said to be due by Divine right, as under the Levitical law, so in the preamble to the act of Henry the Eighth, they are founded on the same principle, being described therein as "due unto God and holy church;" which act has not only never been repealed, but is frequently referred to in subsequent acts on the subject.

The false principle on which they had then been long demanded, that they were due by Divine right,* was fully recognized of the church, by the council of Trent under Pope Pius the Fourth, in the year 1560.

The present object is not to discuss this pretended Divine right to tithes, as it seems now to be abandoned as utterly untenable; nor indeed is much comment requisite on any point. This brief sketch of their history may therefore be concluded with this summary:

First, That tithes are not even mentioned in the grand order of canons, ending in the year 451; a clear proof that they were not, before that time, even thought to be a part of the CHRISTIAN economy.

Secondly, Though prior to that time suggestions had

* Selden ch. vii. § 1.

been given out, that Christians should not be less liberal to the poor and to God than the ancient Jews, and that in consequence a tenth had been offered by some as a free-will offering; yet the first effort to establish the payment of tithes as dues, was made by a subject who had unlawfully deposed his lawful sovereign, in return for being allowed by the pope to commit so foul a deed; and that this compulsory system was first introduced into England by "a MURDERER," under the fallacious idea that he was thereby obtaining absolution from his heinous sin, from the pope.

Thirdly, That the extension of the law of tithes to this kingdom generally, was made by king Ethelwolf, a MONK, who had been ABSOLVED FROM HIS VOW by the pope, and had been raised from the cloister to that secular dignity; and who was so completely under popish influence, as to make one condition of the grant consist in *praying for his soul AFTER his decease*.

Fourthly, Revenues originally received for the benefit of the poor, and claimed principally on their account; were subsequently extended to the support of the clergy, and to the repairs of places for worship; and ultimately the POOR, and the REPAIRS OF PLACES FOR WORSHIP, with little exception, have been entirely discarded from the system of tithes; and also that with the exception of impropriate tithes, the whole produce of the system of tenths is now in the hands of the parochial clergy.

Fifthly, That this compulsory application of tithes to the sole use of the parish priests, was so contrary to the wishes of the people, that compliance with it was obliged to be enforced by the thunder of the vatican, and the terrific influence of spiritual courts.

Lastly, That the most to be deplored effect of this system of forced maintenance, has been, as the circumstances of the present times abundantly demonstrate, its baneful influence on vital religion, the inevitable result of making divinity a trade, in total incongruity with the command of Christ: "Freely ye have received, freely give;" which was acted upon by Christian ministers and bishops during the primitive times of the church for several centuries.

These all being men of like passions with others, the whole may be summed up with stating that the circumstances the most unfavourable to vital Christianity, in which the ministers of any religious community can be placed, are those of annexing the corrupting influence of riches, titles, and other worldly interests and honours to the offices of those, in whose crowns HUMILITY is the brightest gem.

EDITOR.

Section 卅.

The author leaves Cumberland.—Visits the earl of Carlisle at Castle-Howard, and has a long discourse with him.—Cambridge, London.—Returns into Cumberland.—Goes to Edinburgh Yearly Meeting.—Visits other parts of Scotland, and some parts in the north of England.—Stays nearly a year at Justice Town.—Visits again the west of England, and returns through Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Yorkshire, to Carlisle.—Again at York, and again visits the earl of Carlisle at Castle-Howard.—Sir John Rhodes.—London.—The subject of Deism.

On the 6th of the 8th month, 1725, I went from Carlisle, where I had chiefly resided during my stay in Cumberland, and taking meetings on my way, came on the 22nd ^e to Bishop-Auckland; where the Friends there and of Raby met together: and though we sat long in silence, it was a profitable meeting; and I had a good time among them both in testimony and prayer. After meeting I dined at James Trotter's; and in the evening went home with my old friend the widow Walton. She had been formerly waiting woman to the countess of Carlisle; had been convinced in her service, whilst in Cumberland, by William Armstrong, and helped forward and confirmed by me at London; and our former early acquaintance in the Truth still remained

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fresh and living.^s Taking meetings at Darlington, Stockton, Yarm, Gisborough, Whitby, Scarborough, &c. I came to Malton on the 9th of the 9th month, and on the 11th I made a visit to the earl of Carlisle, at Castle-Howard. He was confined to his chamber by illness, but sending up my name, he readily admitted me, and expressed some satisfaction to see me; and being set down, after a little pause of silence, he moved a discourse to this purpose: "That as mankind are incident to many troubles and temptations in life, he observed a great difference between the trouble of mind which ariseth from losses and disappointments in the things of the world, and that which proceeds from a sense of the misconduct of life, in a course inconsistent with duty to God, and his known laws."

This great Truth I confirmed in the words of Solomon: * "The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity; but a wounded spirit who can bear?" Magnanimous persons may sustain for a long time the shocks of bodily ailments, as likewise of losses and disappointments in life; but when, by our rebellion, and disobedience to that holy law of Life and grace, which God in mercy hath placed in us for our guide and conductor, with respect to Himself and towards one

* Proverbs xviii. 14.

another, we not only wound our consciences, but crucify to ourselves the Son of God afresh, and wound his Holy Spirit in us, our anxiety must needs be incomparably greater in this case, than the former; yet such is the unspeakable goodness of God to mankind, and the efficacy of the virtue of that grace which flows from Him, that He does not only show us our transgressions, and the evil of them; with the wounds also and gangrene sores thereby produced; but as we are truly humbled in that view, and willing to amend for time to come, He, most kind and beneficent, sends forth his healing and restoring virtue as emollient ointment, taking away the anguish, and healing all our wounds."

This introduced a large field of discourse, which held nearly three hours; and, I believe, to mutual satisfaction, much upon the points following, viz

"*First*, Faith in Christ, as come in the flesh, being the Word, power, and wisdom of God assuming our nature.

"*Secondly*, Faith in Him as a quickening Spirit, and Divine Light, flowing from the Father into our minds, affecting and influencing at certain times, and in such degrees as pleaseth Him: being as a condemning law in us whilst we are in a state of unbelief, sin, and rebellion; but a law of Divine, immortal Life, and a true

Comforter, in a penitent and faithful state ; to which He himself reduceth us by his judgments, and by his mercy, inwardly revealed and applied. By the ministration of judgment, wasting, as with Divine fire and sword, the whole body of the sins of the flesh and carnal mind ; and at the same time, in and by the same Spirit, manifesting and applying mercy, and Life Eternal to the believing, humble, and penitent soul ; and thus completing that salvation declared by the coming of Jesus Christ, and by his death and sufferings.

“ *Thirdly*, The kingdom of Christ in this world, ruling and reigning in the minds of regenerate men, by his grace and Spirit, as King of Salem, Prince of righteousness and peace, in all them that believe and obey ; who are the children of this kingdom in Divine communion.

“ *Fourthly*, The kingdoms of men, established by the providence of God for the government of the world in its natural state, for the preservation of life, liberty, character, and property ; the better sort of men, in a moral, social state, being children of this kingdom.

“ *Fifthly*, The kingdom of antichrist, being a false show and pretence of Christianity, under which all cruelties and oppressions are and have been acted, to the destruction of life, liberty, property, and religion. And that the children of

this kingdom are, more especially, ministers professing Christ but yet living to themselves; being called to the office by hopes of honour, power, and advantage in this world, and not of the Lord: also the great men of this world, and those in low stations confederating with them in worldly views, against the natural and common interests of the rest of mankind, enslaving the conscience by force of human laws, of their own devising, agreeably to what Christ said to his disciples: ‘They shall put you out of the synagogues.’ For in this they are influenced by a devouring, destroying spirit, contrary to the nature of Christ, who is a mild, innocent, and saving power, most gentle, wise, and beneficent, bringing forth in men his own fruits, and making them like unto Himself. Antichrist also renders all his children like unto himself, proud, lofty, angry, fierce, cruel, and unjust; arbitrary, and unreasonable, implacable, tyrannical, without compassion and mercy, as is ever seen in all persecutors, whether under the pretence and unbrage of national laws, or of despotic and absolute domination and rule.”

Having discoursed on these and some other important matters till near the time of their dining, the lady Irwin, one of his daughters, then a widow, came in desiring to know what he would please to eat; to which he did not

presently answer, but bid her sit down in the room; and after a little pause, he said to her: "I could have wished you had been present, to have heard what passed between us on divers subjects; and then proceeded to mention how great an esteem he had for Friends, as an honest religious people: and as we had been great sufferers on account of our principles, he had ever helped and served us to the best of his power, and ever would." All which he spake with solid gravity, as if he meant to impress in her mind a good opinion of us. When he had finished, he desired her to take me with her to dinner, for he could not go himself. I accordingly went to dinner, the company being only this lady and two or three more, among whom I was civilly treated.

In the afternoon I returned to Malton to an evening meeting, and staid their Monthly Meeting. Next day I went to York, where I attended several meetings to good satisfaction. From hence I went to Selby, Rawcliffe, Thorne, Gainsborough, and other places, having meetings in my way. ^h On the 10th, I went to Cambridge to John Chapman's; and that day was at a meeting in town, which was small. But several of the scholars being there, and more sober than ever I observed them before, I had a very open time among them; and one of the inhabitants, a

light airy person, coming to that meeting, with intent to make himself and others diversion, was much disappointed; being so touched as he confessed, as he never had been before; so that he had no power to be rude, as he intended; but was very sober and attentive all the time, and went off solid and serious.^b I had meetings at many other places on my way to London, where I arrived on the 20th of the 10th month, 1725. Friends were generally glad to see me, and I also to meet with them in the Lord; and many open, comfortable, and confirming meetings we had to our great satisfaction.

After some time I returned to Carlisle and Justice Town, visiting some neighbouring meetings, and prosecuting some affairs of my own; and did not take any journey out of the county of Cumberland, till the year 1728.*

On the 25th of the 2nd month, 1728, I set forward for the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh; to which many of the inhabitants of the city came, and were much more quiet and attentive

^b * From the year 1725 to 1728, his time was much taken up about some unhappy differences that arose between him and some Friends in Norfolk; which proved very troublesome to him and many other Friends in divers parts of the nation, but at last issued in the acquitting of him, in the open Yearly Meeting in London, of those imputations laid to his charge.^b

than heretofore. In the latter meetings especially, Truth prevailed: the largest was the most satisfactory, and Truth was over all in its authority and brightness; and the people departed under a grave sense of a degree of the virtue of it.

On the 6th of the 3rd month, I went to Linlithgow, and that evening had a meeting there; ⁱ to which came a wild looking sort, there being but about half a dozen Friends remaining in that town: but as we sat under some concern and sense of the grace of God towards them, they grew more solid, and we had a good time among them; and they went away very grave and sober. ⁱ From thence I went to Glasgow, where I had several meetings, to which many of the more reputable sort of people of the city came; and the Lord favoured us. On the 12th, we had a peaceable, open meeting at Robert Gray's near Garthshore, with the few Friends remaining in those parts, and next day returned to Edinburgh; from whence I proceeded to Kelso, and Berwick, ^j where there had formerly been a meeting of Friends; but they are all gone except one man and a woman: so that at this time the meeting was quite lost, and the meeting-house being small, and I willing to see as many of the people together as I could, perceiving the grace of Life to remain in my mind

towards them, the Friends with me applied to an acquaintance of theirs, a Presbyterian by profession, who furnished us next day with a warehouse and back yard, wherein he ordered convenient seats of deal boards, &c. and we had a large auditory. And as the Lord furnished my heart with much grace towards them, so, out of that abundance, I was enabled to say many things to them of moment; and the necessary Truths of the Gospel were plentifully and clearly opened that day among them, and the solid weight of Divine Truth reigned over all, to general satisfaction, and sole glory of Him, of whom is the power, and whose right it is to reign, both now and for ever. Amen.

At Newcastle, on the 26th, being the first of the week, I was at their meeting; which, in the forenoon, was pretty open; but, in the afternoon, much shut up a long time, and the heavens seemed like brass, and the gates thereof as if fastened with mighty bars of iron: but as we waited in patience and in sorrow, at length in his own time, which is ever the best and only time, the Lord came, who appeared of old, the doors being shut, and who penetrates all things when He pleases, and makes all opposition fly at the beckoning of his hand, though fortified by the powers of darkness, and secured with the chains and bars of death. A little help from Him by

his holy presence gave Life and ability to utter many good things out of his treasury, to the general edification and consolation of the meeting, and to his own praise who alone deserves it.^j Taking meetings in my way to Carlisle, I came there on the 7th of the 4th month.

^k On the 17th, I left Carlisle, and went by Kendal, Settle, and Bradford to Leeds. On the 22nd, being the first of the week, I was at their meeting; and on the 23rd, at a conference between the Quarterly Meeting of the county of York, and the Friends of the meeting of Halifax and that way, concerning a point of tithe; wherein James Wilson, William Williamson, and I, were named on the part of the Quarterly Meeting, and Robert Hadoe, Benjamin Bangs, and Benjamin Claridge, on the part of Halifax meeting. After attending the Quarterly Meeting at York, and visiting some other meetings, I returned to Carlisle on the 10th of the 5th month.^k

On the 4th of the 3rd month, 1730, I was again at the Yearly Meeting at Edinburgh, ^l it being on the first fourth-day of the month as usual. The meeting was in the new meeting-house: it holds about six hundred, and was every day full, and many without in the yard. They were not, for the greatest part, a rude rabble, as formerly in that place, but generally

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a sober reputable people; and the Truths of the Gospel were plentifully opened, and with good authority.

The meeting held two days; and after it was over, I staid until the first-day following, in the mean time visiting the dean of Guild, a very sober religious person, with whom I had some discourse, chiefly concerning the bread and wine, and the substance; in which I had great satisfaction, and the rather, that he also declared his in what passed between us on that subject.

The meeting the first-day following was as large, and more open than the Yearly Meeting.

On the second-day following, accompanied by Thomas Areskine, I went to Glasgow.¹ Some meetings there were to a good degree of satisfaction, though one of them was somewhat disturbed by a company of the collegians, who were ruder than any of the lower sort; which gave me some heavy reflections: "That these seminaries of the members, of both the national church and state, should be so depraved. To see the good intentions of well meaning parents so frustrated by the ignorance, perfidiousness, and idleness of those well-paid teachers, to whom the care of these young persons and their education is committed, is lamentable and shocking; for, alas! what but bitter and poisonous

waters can be expected from such depraved and envenomed fountains.”

We were favoured at every meeting with having civil officers sent by the magistrates to keep out the ruder sort, which contributed to our outward quiet. On the 15th of the 3rd month, 1730, I returned to Edinburgh, and from thence to Justice Town, at which place, and near to it, I employed myself in my favourite amusement of planting and improving my land, at the same time visiting meetings as they came in course, and enjoying the conversation of my friends and neighbours, till the 2nd month, 1731, when I set out on a journey, and was at divers meetings, as Kendal, Lancaster, Preston, and Warrington. On the 13th, I went to Chester to the Yearly Meeting, which began about two in the afternoon for the ministers and elders; and the next day was at meetings for worship, both forenoon and afternoon; which were very large, having the company of great part of the citizens, and many of the gentry round. On the 15th, in the forenoon, was the meeting of conference, and Quarterly Meeting for Cheshire; and in the afternoon a meeting for worship, at which were several thousands of people, many of them being of the more reputable sort, and, among others, seven ministers of the national church, who, as well as the people, spake well of the testimony

of Truth, which was delivered among them : for which many Friends were thankful to the Lord our God, who hath wrought so great a change in the minds of the people ; not only in this place, but also in most places at this day throughout Britain, and the British dominions every where. John Fallowfield being at the meeting, he and I staid till the first-day following, and had two meetings more, I think, to general satisfaction.

On the 20th, we went to Ludlow, where the Yearly Meeting for Wales was to be held this year. There were no Friends here, nor had there been any meeting held for a long time, if ever before. The first was held in the prince's palace, in a large hall, by the favour of captain Jones the governor ; but being very much crowded, the ministering Friends divided themselves in the afternoon, so that another meeting was held at the same time in a room adjoining to the hall ; and both were large. The Lord was with us, and his Gospel was preached, in his wisdom and power, to general satisfaction : and notwithstanding the great throng of people, there was not any disorder among them ; for the magistrates, to their just commendation, had taken precaution, by making proclamation through the town, and posting the same up in writing in the market or some public place, that if any should

molest the meeting, or give any disturbance, such should be severely punished; and besides this encouragement to us, they appointed constables to attend the gates, some of whom were very serviceable in the meetings, in directing the people to convenient seats, and placing them to the best advantage for general accommodation.

The meetings ended on the 22nd, and I went the next day to Leominster, and had a meeting; but returned on the 25th to Ludlow, being first-day, and had two meetings: that in the morning was not large; but in the afternoon the great hall was well filled with sober people, to whom the Gospel was yet more fully preached; and it was the most open meeting we had in the place; and so we left them in peace and love.

^m Returning that evening with Friends to Leominster, many of the people at Ludlow, watching our departure out of the town, stood in companies on the sides of the streets, to salute us with their civilities, as did many others from their doors and windows; and we departed in peace, and in that humility wherewith the Truth adorns the mind, being thankful to the Lord for so great favours: his reducing magistracy to its proper use and end, a terror to evil doers, and for the praise and protection of them that do well, being none of the least, considering how much our Friends, and myself in some measure,

have suffered under magistrates of a persecuting spirit in former times. ^m

After this I went to Worcester, Cheltenham, and divers other places, till I came to Bristol; John Irwin and John Fallowfield being with me. Here we staid the time of the Yearly Meeting, and had good service; the meetings being large and open, and the kingdom of God preached.

On the 22nd of the 3rd month, I went to Nailsworth, and from thence to many other places in these parts, taking meetings till ⁿ the 6th of the 5th month, when I had an evening meeting at Bradford; but the notice not going in due time, the meeting was not large, yet pretty satisfactory, several of the neighbours being there, and very solid. That night I lodged at John Ballard's, who went with me to Bath next day. He was an attorney at law; and being convinced of Truth, made profession with us. But the law being altered with respect to men of his practice, and some new oaths required of them, in order to renew his qualification, he had offered his affirmation according to the law made in our favour, in matters of evidence; but judge Ayres, one of the judges before whom it should have been taken, not being our friend, denied him that privilege; which, it was generally held, the law and common right allowed him; since that practice, being his way of livelihood

and subsistence before that law was made, was no office, or place of trust or profit in the government; which, with serving on juries concerning life and death, was the only exception in any of the acts concerning the affirmation of Friends, instead of oaths. "

On the 9th of the 5th month, I came to Bristol again. I never went to that city with less hope, or more down in my mind, than at this time; but on third-day, the meeting was larger than usual, and pretty generally reached; more of the younger part of both sexes being tendered than I had observed there or elsewhere, for a long time; after which I was not so much loaded in my spirit as before in that city, where there is still a great body of people under our profession, who, I hope, will remain honourable in the Truth, and increase in the power and virtue of it.

On the 14th, I went to a meeting at Belton, accompanied by Alexander Arscott, an honest and good warrior for Truth on earth against the infidels of the present age. A considerable number of Friends and others attended the meeting, among whom my labour was hard for some time; to what purpose I do not know: for, though many important Truths of the Gospel were plainly opened, I did not find any great impression they made, nor was I very easy

afterwards, but under a kind of deadness; which, I fear, is the state of too many people, to whom we minister; though several at this time seemed well satisfied with the meeting.

On the 21st, I went to a meeting at Frenchay, and returned to Bristol, where I staid during the time of the fair, attending the meetings, which were very large and open. On the 5th of the 6th month, I left Bristol, and taking meetings at Nailsworth, Cirencester, Burford, Whitney, and Charlbury, came to Oxford on the 14th. Here I felt my mind loaded with the power of darkness which may be felt, constantly prevailing in that seat of wisdom, but not the wisdom of God. I was here on the first day of the week; the meeting remained heavy and dark a considerable time, till the never-failing Truth arose and dispersed it; in which being over all opposite spirits, I stood up, and many things were opened of great importance, without any disturbance from the scholars, many of whom were there. Having thus succeeded, the way was easier at our next meeting in the afternoon, at which, having matter of importance to deliver, with full authority, several of them were affected.

On the 16th, I went to Banbury, to Benjamin Kidd's; and thence took meetings at South Newington, Adderbury, Warwick, Coventry, &c. in my way to Nottingham and Mansfield; from

whence I went to sir John Rhodes's at Balberhall, where I stayed two nights, and accompanied him to the meeting at Chesterfield. After this I was at several meetings in Yorkshire, and on the 28th of the 7th month, went to York.

On the 29th and 30th was the Quarterly Meeting there; where the envy and ill intention of some priests of the national church came under consideration. The case was this: some of them living in the north, had falsely reported to some meeting of priests in London, that Friends of the north, especially in Yorkshire, had been very industrious in spreading and promoting the blasphemous and anti-christian books published of late by Woolston; and the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry having written two volumes in answer to Woolston, took occasion therein most erroneously to represent us as on the same foundation with him, the familists, and other heterodox persons, as deniers of the outward coming of Christ, and despisers of the Holy Scriptures, after their old threadbare way and antiquated cant of little credit at this day, if at all even believed by themselves. Yet to obviate the hurt that some weak and credulous persons might sustain by our silence on those charges, the meeting extracted some paragraphs out of our Yearly Meeting epistles, from the year

1706, to this year 1731, containing earnest and repeated advice to Friends every where to read the Holy Scriptures, and wait upon the Lord for his help in understanding them; and also not to read, or suffer to be read in their families, any books of deists, plays, romances, &c. tending to the discredit of the Holy Scriptures, and being contrary to the Christian religion. This extract the meeting committed to the care of several to be printed and published, with a short introduction; which resulting to the particular care of Roger Shackleton, of York, and myself, it was accordingly printed at York, and published there the 4th of the 8th month following.

At York on the 3rd of the 8th month, being the first day of the week, the meeting was very large in the afternoon, chiefly with strangers, for the meeting of itself is but small; and many Truths of the Gospel were freely opened; and for any thing I could observe, well received by the auditory. The next day I staid at York to see the printed extract finished; and on the 5th, being the third of the week, I went forward, and, taking some meetings in my way, reached Carlisle on the 26th of the 8th month.

I staid at and about Carlisle till the 30th of the 6th month, 1732; when I went thence to Appleby, and arrived in York on the 2nd of

the 7th month, going to Roger Shackleton's; and next day being the first of the week, was at the meetings there, both forenoon and afternoon; which were very open.

On the 5th I called at Castle-Howard and dined with the earl of Carlisle and his family, the lord Cornbury being there likewise. About the conclusion of our dinner, the earl in a frank manner moved some discourse about the ceremonies of the national church, and asked me, if we would join with them, in case they would lay aside the surplice, and sign of the cross in baptism?

I answered: "Lay these things aside, and then we will confer with you about the rest."

Then said the earl: "These things are no way essential to religion, and may well be spared; we have no foundation in Scripture for them, and some other things we use."

Then his chaplain, who was present, said: "Things innocent in their own nature may be enjoined by the church and the legislature; and thence arises a duty to obedience."

The earl replied: "That whatever is invented and imposed by man in matters of religion, more than what was ordained by Christ, and taught by Him and his apostles, is vicious; and ought not to be regarded." O noble confession! He then dismissed his chaplain with

a frown, whilst I was asking him this question : “ When and where did the Lord Jesus ever give power to any temporal prince or state, to add to, alter, or diminish the religion He himself established on the earth : is not He all-sufficient in Himself for that, without the direction, concurrence, or aid of any other power ; since all power in heaven and earth is given unto Him ? ”

The chaplain departing the room, I requested liberty for a few words further, that since the earl had been pleased to mention their baptism, and object to an incident of it, as now used by them, I hoped it would not be offensive, if I endeavoured to inform him how we understand the Christian baptism ; and having his countenance therein, I proceeded : “ That John the baptist, being moved by the Word or Spirit of God, to call the Jews to repentance, and to baptize or wash in water such as believed his doctrine, and went to him to that end ; he foretold them of another to come after him, much more worthy, and to be preferred, who should baptize them with a more excellent, powerful, and efficacious baptism ; that is to say, the Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost and fire.

“ That John did not baptize in any particular name, but directed his disciples to believe in one who was to come after him, whom himself

did not know when he first began to preach and baptize; and as repentance was, at that time, the necessary doctrine to the Jews, Christ himself preached repentance, and his disciples, they also baptized with water, as John did, and at the same time, but with this difference, that John baptized not in any name, but the disciples of Christ most probably in his Name, whom they had rightly believed to be the true Messiah; and in whose Name alone, after He was declared to be sent of God, all the water baptism we ever find in the Scripture to be administered, was performed, and never in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

“That after the resurrection of Christ, and before his ascension, He introduced his baptism as it was most excellent in itself, so with greater dignity and glory, saying: ‘All power in heaven and earth is given unto Me; repentance and remission of sins must be preached in my Name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem; and ye shall be witnesses unto Me in Jerusalem, in Judea, in Samaria, in all the regions round about, and to the uttermost parts of the earth: go ye therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Go into all the earth, and preach the Gospel unto every

creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved ; and he that believeth not, shall be damned : and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.'

“But notwithstanding this commandment from the mouth of Him, who hath all power in heaven and earth, He knew that his disciples, though they had by his command or countenance baptized with water, could not of themselves baptize with this baptism, without the actual and present power of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in one dispensation : therefore He added this further command : ‘But tarry ye at Jerusalem till ye be endued with power from on high.’ And lest they should mistake, and think He was instituting another water baptism, He distinguishes his baptism from that of water, saying : ‘John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.’ From this it is evident, according to the testimony of Holy Writ, that this institution was not any water baptism, but distinguished from it, the same which John ascribed to Christ, and is the baptism of the Spirit only. This we own, and this only, to be the baptism in the Church of Christ, initial, by its powerful effects, into the church, which is his body, the ground and

pillar of Truth, the fulness of Him who filleth all in all."

To this neither of these two lords made any reply; but after a short pause, entered into some discourse between themselves concerning the meaning of John the baptist, when he sent two of his disciples to Christ, to ask whether He was the Messiah, after he had so fully before owned and declared Him to be so. They could not at first think the same way about his meaning; supposing he doubted under the temptation of persecution and imprisonment: but that instance being advanced, where Christ, speaking to the Father, saith: 'Holy Father, Thou always hearest Me; but these things I say in the hearing of these,' his disciples, 'that they may believe that Thou hast sent Me.' It was then concluded, that the message from John was not for his own sake, or as doubting concerning Christ; but for the sake of his disciples, and others for their further information and establishment in the faith of Christ: and so the conversation ended. Then I took leave; but the earl, though weak in his limbs, by a late fit of the gout^a went before me to the head of the out-stairs, and standing there awhile, professed his good liking to Friends, as a religious, useful people; and wished his tenants were all of our way.^a That evening I

went to Malton ^r with my friend Layton Furbank, who had staid at Castle-Howard for me all this time; and the next day we had a very good meeting there.^r From thence I went to Pickering, Scarborough, and many other places, having meetings to good satisfaction.

The 1st of the 9th month, I went again to Balber Hall, to see my worthy friend and old acquaintance, sir John Rhodes, who had embraced the Truth early in his youth under great self-denial; in which he had continued: he holds his integrity unto this day, and without doubt will to the end; and then an overbalance unspeakable, to all the honour and pleasure he hath sacrificed in this world for the cross of Christ, will he meet with in that which is to come, never ending or suffering change, but from glory to glory for ever. I staid here in open friendship till the 4th, when I went to Mansfield, and was at their meeting; I was likewise at a meeting here on the 7th, which was large on account of a burial. The Truth was preached to the people in terms suitable to their states; and they were much more sober and attentive than could have been expected from their first appearance, many of them looking wild and airy; which gave me occasion to think, what good do their parents do them? and in what is the care of parents to be seen? But He who commandeth the winds,

and stilleth the raging waves of the sea, calmeth the most turbulent spirits by his invisible word, working effects visible and surprising! The meeting ended in peace, and in all appearance to general satisfaction.

On the 8th, I went to Nottingham, and was at their meeting next day; which was open and comfortable. I took my course after this through Leicestershire and Northamptonshire towards London, where I arrived on the 7th of the 10th month, and was kindly received by my friends.

At this time deism was much advanced in the city and nation, yet our meetings were crowded on first-days: and though the generality of Friends in the city were young people, they delighted to hear the principles and doctrines of Truth published. I was frequently concerned to distinguish between a natural and spiritual state. In the former, man has the use of his reason and understanding in natural things, receiving his ideas thereof from without, by his senses, and making a judgment according to the degree of the ability of his natural faculties, deducing consequences from premises by reasoning; by which he may conclude the existence of the Almighty, from the works of the creation, yet cannot by reasoning form any proper idea of the enjoyment of God in this state.

But in the latter or spiritual state, where-into man is brought by the Word or Spirit of God operating in his mind, he is capacitated to enjoy God, as He is essential love, wisdom, truth, power, &c.

One day, during my stay in the city, I with some other Friends, fell in company with a deist; and something being moved relating to his principles, he was furnished with divers subtile arguments in opposition to the Christian religion; which yet had no weight with us. One present, to bring him in some respect under the authority of the Holy Scriptures, asked him, if he did believe what was written therein? He answered: "That he did believe many things therein, but not all;" and soon after he urged the apostle's doctrine in his epistle to the Romans, in defence of their position: "That the reason of man is his only guide in the way to please God; and the only principle by which man can apprehend there is a God;" for saith the Scripture: * "That which may be known of God is manifest in them," i. e. men, 'for God hath showed it unto them; for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even

* Rom. i. 19, 20.

his eternal power and Godhead ; so that they are without excuse.' ”

I replied : “ That man, taking in the idea of the outward creation by his senses, and reasoning from the effect to the cause, may conclude and cannot avoid it, that there is an almighty all-wise agent, who has produced and supports all things ; and that He hath all the Divine and moral attributes commonly ascribed ; from which reasonable contemplation a great satisfaction may arise : and yet all this is, in comparison, but a history or report of God, though for ever true ; and gives not the enjoyment of his presence sensibly, as He is Divine essential truth, love, wisdom, light, and power. As such, He cannot be known but by his own Light flowing from Himself through that pure mirror, the reasonable mind of Christ, of his own preparing ; by whom, as through a veil, man sees the inaccessible glory of the Father, who dwelleth in the Light, which no man hath seen, nor can see by any other medium ; and not by that, till due qualification be wrought in the mind of man by this Light.

“ That the Divine Light of Truth, or Spirit of Christ, is another thing than human reason, and is added to the rational man, after he is already rational ; and is not constituent of his being, as his reason is. * I then instanced

Cornelius, who was not only a rational man, but also a devout man, and one that feared God, with all his house; who gave much alms, and prayed to God always; and whose prayers and alms went up as a memorial before God: and yet it was needful that an apostle of Christ should tell him what he ought to do further; that is, to receive the Word, Anointing, or Holy Ghost; which believing, he did accordingly receive it: which is the Spirit of Truth, and leads into all truth relating to the spiritual world, and the things thereof: which human reason can never do, receiving all its ideas from without, concerning natural, nay even spiritual things; whereas the knowledge of things spiritual is conceived in the mind, from the Spirit of Truth within; and those things exhibit their own ideas, after their kind and nature, to the mind, as outward things exhibit their ideas, after their sort, to the senses by sensible intuition, and not by reasoning."

These things seeming at that time, to take some hold of the mind of this person, I recommended them to his further consideration; and he said, he would further examine them.^s

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Section III.

Leaves London and proceeds to Kendal and Carlisle.—London Yearly Meeting 1733.—Nailsworth.—Coventry assizes.—Lancaster.—Carlisle Monthly Meeting.—London Yearly Meeting 1734.—Pool.—Exeter.—Totness.—Foy.—Tiverton.—Bristol.—Jordans.—London.

Having visited all the meetings in London, and being easy for the present concerning them, I set forward for the north on the 2nd of the 12th month, going by way of Hertford, Hitchin, Coventry, Birmingham, Manchester, &c. taking meetings at these and other places to good satisfaction. On the 1st of the 1st month, 1733, I came to Kendal, to Thomas Ellwood's, and was at their Monthly Meeting the day after; which was large and open, and the business thereof managed in the peaceable wisdom of Truth; so that it was a comfortable time, through the Lord's goodness. I staid till the first day of the next week, when the morning meeting was large, consisting for the most part of Friends; the necessary truths of the Gospel opened clearly, and with tendering authority: persuading the youths not to rest in the outside of things only, in a formal

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exercise of things left by example of those who had gone before, but to wait for the same word of wisdom and power in themselves, as their conductor in the same good practices in their day. Several of them were tendered and broken; the Lord favouring us with his presence.

At the afternoon meeting a multitude attended and several of the magistrates, who were generally sedate and attentive; many things of the kingdom of God were opened among them with good authority; especially concerning regeneration, the difference between a natural and spiritual mind and state, and the necessity of a real and sensible change. I had thanks from one of the justices for my good instruction, as he was pleased to call it, which though it is a thing of course among themselves, was much better than being sent into a prison for it, as often happened to those who made way, in times past, by their sufferings for the liberty we enjoy; and whose memory ought to be retained with great respect; though some at this day under the same profession, despise and trample upon the most essential part of their testimony, as also most of the incidents, and exterior marks of distinction between us and the world; for such incidents there are, besides a holy life, and moral decorum among men.

I passed the evening in agreeable conversation with some Friends, and went the next day to Penrith, and the day after to my usual lodging at Carlisle. Having settled some concerns in the country, I went to the Yearly Meeting at Kendal, which was very large, consisting for the most part of young people; as does our Society throughout the world at this day. We were favoured with the Divine presence in some degree, but not so as I have experienced on these occasions; for the state of the people could not bear it; the generality of them being as the Samaritans of old, who had believed that Jesus Christ was the Messiah who had been to come; and so far they were right; but the Holy Spirit of Christ was not come upon them for some time after they had so believed. So likewise these our younger sort of Friends, have believed the same concerning the coming of Christ in that administration, as also the general doctrines published among us at this day, of his light, grace, or Holy Spirit, yet the operation of it has not been witnessed, by many of them, as a sensible and experimental dispensation of life and power, which is properly the Gospel.

The meetings held three days, and concluded well, to the sole praise of the Holy One, who never fails to do good to his people. After this

I was at Sedberg, Bishop-Aukland, Durham, and Newcastle; from thence went to Carlisle, and on the 4th of the 3rd month, set forward for the Yearly Meeting in London; and, with hard travel, I arrived there on the 10th.

In this meeting the testimony of Truth was further established against the payment of tithes, which had been weakened by the unfaithfulness of several in profession with us, who, for the time might have known better, and have arrived at greater perfection. Some members of the meeting offering apologies for delinquencies of this nature, I put the meeting in mind that at a time of great distraction about matters of religion in this nation, the Lord in infinite mercy stretched forth the arm of his power, by which He gathered to Himself a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people, who through the virtue and power of his grace, bore a threefold testimony in the world.

“*First*, To the manifestation of the Holy Spirit of Christ, as the only infallible and all-sufficient Teacher of mankind, in the things of God and Eternal Life.

“*Secondly*, To a holy, innocent, righteous life, as the necessary consequences of such teaching.

“*Thirdly*, Against an antichristian ministry, set up, and subsisting in the world, by tithes, and

other oppressive means ; never appointed by God for a Christian ministry ; but invented and obtruded upon the world by an antichristian power, usurping authority in the Name of the Lord Jesus, whose kingdom is not of this world, over all the kings and princes, and moral establishments where Christ was named and owned.

Against such a ministry our primitives were true and faithful ; so that these three points were settled and held as essential, and indispensable to the dispensation of the Almighty committed unto his people in this and all future ages ; and none were really accounted under that dispensation, who came not up in the practice of them. I therefore conclude it is the same still, and ever will be. I also stated that former Yearly Meetings, whose minutes are now inspected and referred to, especially relating to the payment of tithes ; did but their duty in distinguishing such as fall short in this common testimony ; so far at least, as to prohibit such from any share in the exercise of judgment, or the application of the order and discipline of the church, whilst themselves are subjects of censure therein. As it is written : ‘The brother that is weak in the faith, receive, but not to doubtful disputations.’”

It was concluded to have former minutes transcribed against the payment of tithes, and to have a written epistle prepared, recommending

faithfulness therein, to be sent to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings; in which the meeting seemed generally unanimous.

After staying some weeks in London, visiting the meetings there, I visited some meetings in Hertfordshire, Surrey, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire on my way to Bristol; and went after this by Monmouth and Ross to Keyngton, where on the 26th, the Yearly Meeting for seven western counties was held this year, viz. Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, which I attended; it was an edifying, informing and comfortable meeting, the people, who were very numerous, being generally sober, and well satisfied.

On the 9th of the 7th month, I was at Nailsworth at their meeting on the first day of the week. It was large in the afternoon, but laborious; for many of the people in those parts and elsewhere, having been often at our meetings, where the truths of the Gospel have been clearly and powerfully declared, and being secretly convinced, yet having stumbled at the cross, have not obeyed to an open confession of the Truth, and therefore do not grow or come forward in it, but are as seeds buried under the clods of the earth, and in danger of being lost. Christ was preached to them this day, with respect to his

inward as well as outward manifestation, and especially the former ; and they were warned of the danger of neglecting the day of the offers of salvation, and the strivings of the Spirit of God in them ; since the language of Wisdom to a rebellious, gainsaying, negligent people, is on this wise : * “ I called, saith the Lord, and ye would not hear ; ye shall cry, and I will not answer ; I will laugh at your calamities, and mock when your fear cometh.” And, † “ To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts.”

I staid here till the 13th, and was at their week-day meeting, which was small, no notice being given of my remaining there, as I was willing to see their manner in the absence of strangers.

On the 21st of the 8th month, I had an evening meeting at Henley, which was very large, many of the Presbyterians and others of the neighbourhood being there, and generally very sober. Many truths of the Gospel were proclaimed in their ears ; and some hearts touched with the virtue of it ; but the cross is still a stumbling block to some who profess the Christian name : mankind desiring heaven, when the report thereof seems beautiful, but would

* Proverbs i. † Psalms xciv. 7, 8.

part with nothing for it; they would still be heirs of two kingdoms; which in this sense can never be.

I proceeded from Henley for London, where having staid some time, and thoroughly visited the meetings, I left it on the 23rd of the 1st month 1733-4, going northward, by Coventry, Stockport, Manchester, and so to Carlisle.

At the first mentioned place the assizes had lately been held, when several malefactors were capitally convicted; and among others an episcopal priest, for stealing a mare, to whom and to all in the court, the judge gave good advice; more especially to this poor condemned criminal; to whom he said, that the sin was great in itself, but very much aggravated and magnified in him, who, pretending to be a minister of Christ, ought to have been a good example, and leader of others in the way of righteousness and Truth; but falling so greatly short himself of moral honesty, he was become a reproach to his profession, and a stumbling block to the weak; to whom he ought to have been a support. And it was particularly remarked, that the judge told the criminal: "If he had taken due heed to the Divine principle of Grace and Truth in his own mind, he would not have fallen into that sin, which was now bringing him to so ignominious an end." This discourse

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had good effect on him and the other criminals, and also on the auditory. Some said the judge had preached a good Quaker's sermon.

On the 1st of the 2nd month, I went to Stockport, where I had a comfortable time in visiting the families of Friends. On the 7th, I was at Manchester, on the first day of the week; the meetings were to general satisfaction, so far as I could observe; some essential parts of the Christian faith, practice, hope, love, and sufferings, were laid open and made plain in the light and power of the Son of God, and many hearts tendered thereby. I went from hence to Lancaster, to a meeting of ministers and elders, which was well furnished with the same from divers counties and places; and we were favoured with the good presence and counsel of the Lord. The day after, two meetings for worship were held, both very large, consisting generally of Friends: the people in this part resting satisfied in their own dead forms, though a few of them who came in, behaved soberly, and the Lord gave us a good meeting, through the revelation of the Father by the Son, who never fails nor forsakes his own; whom in this age, as in times past, He hath called and filled by his word, to bear the ensign of his great Name before the nations.

After this I was at other meetings in these parts; and on the 19th, I was at the Monthly Meeting at Carlisle, where I gave Friends some short hints of my late journey; and let them know I intended another soon after, and to be at the approaching Yearly Meeting in London; which the Monthly Meeting was pleased with, since none had given up their names at the Quarterly Meeting, for the Yearly Meeting; upon which the Quarterly Meeting had been adjourned, in hope that some Friends would offer their service on that account. After some further deliberations thereon, seeing so general a backwardness in the Quarterly Meeting, they told me, they hoped I would be at the adjourned Quarterly Meeting, and agree to be one at least to represent them at the Yearly Meeting; and as I intended to visit some other places after the Yearly Meeting was over, the Monthly Meeting gave me another certificate; being a common order then among us, to which all were alike subject, how well soever known in our Society in general, to prevent disorderly persons and imposters.

On the 2nd of the 3rd month, I was at the adjourned Quarterly Meeting held at Wigton; where such business was finished as was before them; but none offering for the service of the Yearly Meeting in London, I acquainted the

meeting of my intention of being there; and then the meeting persuaded Jonathan Ostal and David Hodgson, to undertake the charge also. That evening I returned to Carlisle, where I had been at the week-day meeting the day before; which was very open and comfortable.'

Taking meetings on my way, I arrived in London on the 25th of the 3rd month, in order to attend the Yearly Meeting, to which I had been appointed a representative. We had a peaceable time, through the wisdom and goodness of the Lord; though satan was not wanting in his attempts to make division and mischief.

I staid in the city and near it, visiting the meetings, till the 14th of the 6th month, and then, accompanied by my sure and agreeable friend John Fallowfield, set forward on a journey into the west. We were at many meetings to good satisfaction, and in our way had a meeting at Pool. ^u There is at that place a good number of Friends, but for the most part young, and not much experienced in the work of Truth; yet being in their native innocence, and keeping to meetings they are hopeful. We laboured among them, according to the ability given for the work of the day; and the meeting was serviceable and comfortable. Here we staid till the 25th; and being the first day of

the week, were at their meeting; which, in the morning, consisted generally of Friends; and the Lord favoured us with a good degree of his goodness together: but in the afternoon, the meeting being put off till four, and notice given to the people, we had a very great crowd, the house and all the galleries being filled, and some could not get in.^u

The Lord furnished us with understanding and ability; and the doctrine and virtue of the Gospel reached many that day. We were much drawn out to the people, in the labour of love and good-will, and much exhausted in the service, yet our reward was sure in the Lord, and our satisfaction great in his presence.

On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of the 7th month, was held the circular Yearly Meeting for the west, at Exeter. Many of the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring places came in, behaving very soberly; the truths of the Gospel were declared to them with authority and demonstration by several of the ministry; and the meeting was peaceable and comfortable, and to good satisfaction. Indeed the people throughout this nation at this time are generally willing to give us a fair and peaceable hearing, with good acceptance as to the Truth of our doctrine; but the cross of Christ is yet too heavy for them, as they weakly think; and finding ease and a

false rest in death, under their teachers, who sooth them in their sins, they rest short of the kingdom.

† On the 4th, in the morning, when I and my companion were ready to take horse for the west, we had a message from Friends in the city informing us, that a marriage of two of our Friends was to take place there next day, and that they expected many of the inhabitants would be present on the occasion, and they earnestly requested we might attend, which having duly considered, we found freedom to stay, and were there accordingly; where we had the company of a good number of Friends, and a great company of the inhabitants of the place; and the Lord was pleased to favour the occasion with his good presence, and to furnish us with matter and strength suitable; and we had a more satisfactory time than in the Yearly Meeting, where sometimes we happen to be straitened by too many of the same order, not all alike qualified for such services.

This stay thus occasioned altered the measures in point of time, which we had thought of for the west; and being so near the first of the week, and many of the inhabitants of the city being a little roused by the meetings aforementioned we tarried till then: our meeting was more select in the morning; but the

afternoon meeting being postponed till the third hour, it was nearly as large as some times in the Yearly Meeting; and the Lord furnishing us with understanding and authority, some necessary truths of the Gospel and kingdom of God were declared with authority and clearness; the auditory being very sober and attentive, and generally satisfied, as we ourselves were in our service, having the reward of peace from the Lord; not of debt, but of his mercy, goodness, and bounty. †

On the 9th, we had a meeting in the town-hall at Totness, which was large mostly of the reputable sort; a very full and comfortable time the Lord gave us among them, exalting the testimony of his living Truth over all; and we witnessed peace, as a full recompence for the labour given us to perform by the word of the Lord.

On the 29th, we had a meeting at the Land's End; which was large considering the smallness of the house. The people, in general, are of low capacity, but matter suitable to their condition opened freely. New wine is not put into old bottles; most of them had not believed in the Truth, and therefore were not sanctified through faith in Him; so that the efflux of the living water, was not so plentiful, nor the wine of the kingdom so strongly mixed therewith as at some

other places, yet sufficient of both to give a clear evidence, and we had a comfortable season by the Lord's good presence; and his arm was magnified.

On the 6th of the 8th month, we were at the meeting at Dennis, among an innocent people, many of them, about forty lately convinced, being very tender, as little children desiring the pure milk of the word, which the Lord dispensed largely and freely among them, to our mutual satisfaction. They were greatly tendered, as we had been when we were first convinced, which gave me a grateful remembrance of those days and times of espousals, and hopes that the renewing of such times in a more general way is not far off; such being now, in divers parts of the world, as a few first ripe ears proclaiming the approaching harvest; as it is written: * 'Seed time and harvest, summer and winter, day and night shall not cease;' so the dispensations of the Almighty unto mankind, though various, shall not cease from henceforward for ever.

When we were at the Yearly Meeting at Exeter, some proposals had been made of having a meeting at Tiverton, in our return from Cornwall, to which we were inclined; and after being

* Gen. viii. 22.

at several meetings in our way, as Port Isaac, Liskard, &c. we came there, and held a meeting on the 21st, which was large, consisting of people of all ranks: the mayor and other magistrates being present, they appointed the constables to keep the baser sort in awe, if any should occasion a disturbance. The Lord who always countenanceth his own appointments in providence, gave us strength and understanding sufficient for the work of this day, wherein we had no small labour, yet a good and comfortable time; and all ended to the honour of God, and promotion of his Truth among the people, who were generally satisfied with what they heard, being many of the most needful truths of the Gospel; and Christ was truly preached by his own immediate power, in the use of instruments. After the meeting, we made our acknowledgments to the magistrates for their kind assistance; and in the afternoon I went with a Friend to visit one of the most noted persons in town, a Presbyterian by profession, who had been at the meeting and very attentive. He had been well satisfied with what he had heard, except some things I had said upon the subject of baptism: our sentiments on which I endeavoured to make plain to his understanding, and we parted in friendship.

My companion and I proceeded for Bristol,

where, after staying about two weeks, he left me intending for London, upon the death of that able minister of the Gospel, and pillar in the house of God, Francis Davis, his brother by marriage. On the 16th of the 9th month, I likewise departed from Bristol, taking meetings in my way to London. The meeting at Jordans was pretty large; the Lord was near in a time of long silence, and I had good matters before me, but unable to speak by means of a cold; yet at length broke through, so as to express the heads of some matters before me, relating to the ancient prophecy of the Lord: * 'That it should come to pass, that seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, we will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel; only, let us be called by thy name to take away our reproach.'

This is fulfilled in many, if not the greatest part of the professors of Christ throughout the world, who feed themselves with their own inventions of various forms, of what they call their religion, and clothe themselves with their own righteousness, neglecting the righteousness of God, even the Lord our righteousness. Many likewise, feeding the body to excess and luxury, clothe it with needless and airy, fantastical

* Isaiah iv. 1.

garments, things not becoming the cross of Christ. But the people of God are preserved clear from these things, by waiting upon Him day and night in his temple, the second house more glorious than the former, for the consolation of Israel, the Light to enlighten the gentiles, and the glory of his true Israel.

On the 7th of the 10th month, I reached London, in which city I staid several months.

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Section III.

Yearly Meeting at Chester.—Worcester.—Oxford.—French Prophets.—Yearly Meeting at Rugby.—Bristol.—London.—Case of appeal.—Leeds.—Justice-Town.—London.—Tadcaster.—York.—Scarborough. York.—Sir John Rhodes.—Preston Moorhouse.—Lowther-Hall.—Kendal.—Birmingham.—London.

I staid in London visiting the meetings, till the 29th of the 1st month, 1735. ^w On the 10th of the 2nd month I was at a meeting at Wolverhampton, which on account of a marriage was much crowded with people, especially of the more reputable sort, and many could not get in; and the Lord exalted his own Name that day, and honoured his people and their offspring with his blessed presence and goodness, to the surprise of many who had been ignorant of his power; and the Truth was made evident to many, according to the testimony of Holy Writ. While the certificate of the marriage was filling up, I noted to the people, that no clandestine marriages could ever pass among us, since the stated rules of our Society required ample certificates, and proof of the consent of parents or guardians, and of the clearness of the
1735.

parties from all pre-contracts with others, and of their not being too nearly related; but that the national priests, through covetousness, had not only eluded and made null, in great measure, even their own primitive institutions and practice on that account, but had likewise made null and ineffectual the laws of the nation provided to prevent so great mischief. ^w

On the 13th of the 2nd month, and first day of the week, commenced the Yearly Meeting for four counties, viz. Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, held at Westchester. The meetings were very large with people of all ranks, and the Lord was pleased to favour us with his good presence, and to exalt his own glorious Name over all; the great multitude during the service, being mostly as still as a meeting of Friends. Here was a young woman in the ministry, who had been convinced about four years before; she being at a meeting with some of her acquaintance, they thought what I had to say was a contrived sermon, which might be kept written in my pocket; whereas I never prepared any thing to say in any meeting in all my life hitherto, but have ever depended upon the heart-preparing power and word of the Lord, and immediate work and openings of it in my own mind. From this time the young woman came nearer

to Friends, and attended our meetings, till she found strength to own the Truth in a public manner.

On the 29th, I was at the meeting at Worcester, where the Lord favoured us with his good presence; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament being opened to us with brightness and authority, to general satisfaction; for which we were thankful unto Him who hath all wisdom and power, and without whom we can do nothing; yet this meeting was so hard to me for some time in silence, and the people so heavy, that it put me in mind of a saying of the apostle: 'What shall they do who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?' But so soon as a little help appeared from the Lord, all weakness and the power of death, vanished as darkness before the day; and in Him I arose and prevailed: and so let it be with all his ministers, in all places, from henceforth through all generations. Amen.

On the 2nd of the 3rd month, I had an appointed meeting at Chipping Norton, which was very open, the goodness of the Lord accompanying us therein, and the light of His countenance making manifest things of the greatest importance. From hence I went to Oxford, where now remain only four or five

Friends, and was at the meetings on first-day. In the morning, sitting together in the usual meeting-house, the Lord renewed to us the happy experience of fulfilling his promise, whilst in silence: 'That where two or three are gathered together in his Name, there He is in the midst of them.' But after some time, a company of students came in, most of them full of levity, with vice and folly sitting on their brows. They scoffed at the great truths of the Gospel, especially when some proper texts of Holy Scripture were mentioned concerning the Divine Light and Word of God, as if they meant to repel the force of Truth by a flood of laughter. I had patience under all their foolish opposition, and ill manners; and labouring in the virtue of Truth, so overcame them, that they were generally quiet before I had done, and some of them sensibly touched with the invisible power of Truth: in the main it was a good meeting, and ended well. I never had any thing but good will to these misguided young creatures; whose capacities might, under a proper direction and conduct, be improved to great service in the world; but being depraved by vicious practices, all the good proposed by their education is frustrated.

In the afternoon we sat so long silent, that

we tired one set of them, who came first ; but another sort coming after the first were gone, I had many things to say to them concerning their learning, manners, catechism, vows and promises, creeds, and likewise of the martyrs from whom they pretended to derive their religion. Then I preached to them on the grace of God, and showed, that if they were members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven, by what had been done for them in their infancy, when altogether ignorant of good or evil, they are now in the state of fallen angels by their own confession ; for they have left undone those things which they ought to have done, and done those things which they ought not to have done, and are become miserable sinners, * ‘ full of wounds, bruises, and putrifying sores, from the sole of the foot even unto the head ;’ and certainly none in this state can enter the kingdom of God. I said I had heard that the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are called the two eyes of the nation ; it is therefore no wonder the inhabitants, depending on them are so ignorant. Some of them were not easy under this ; yet Truth being over them, they were kept down, so as not to oppose, otherwise than by laughter, more forced

* Isaiah i. 6.

than natural; at which times usually reproving them, I went on with what I had to say till finished; and being helped to clear myself, I came away with satisfaction.

On the 9th, I was at Chesham, where in the evening, after the meeting, I had conversation with a considerable man in the world, inclinable to the French prophets; by whom I perceived they expect such a dispensation from God, that all the gifts of the primitive times should be restored, as working miracles, prophecy, healing the sick, raising the dead, &c. whereby their minds being carried off the present dispensation, they neglect that which should be regarded, in looking for greater things before they are come to the lesser, as did the Jews; who looking for the coming of the Messiah in another manner than He was promised, that is, with outward and worldly power and splendour, despised Him when He did come; and so missed of salvation by Him. I declared many things to him and the Friends present, as at that time they were opened to me of the Lord; and we parted in friendship.

I went by Jordans and Uxbridge to London, and in the latter end of the 6th month, to the Yearly Meeting for seven counties, held at Rugby, which was large; many of those called gentry, as well as of the people in lower

stations, and likewise several national priests, being there. * The place prepared was so capacious as to hold many hundreds ; and it was very full in the forepart of the day, but the people came so generally in the afternoon, that scarcely half of them could get in ; so that some of the ministers went into a large court behind an inn, near the meeting place, but not within hearing of these within ; and so had two meetings at the same time.* The Lord honoured his Name in the midst of them, from meeting to meeting ; to Him be the praise who is alone worthy, now and for ever.

The meeting held twice a day for three days, during which time the truths of the Gospel in the authority and demonstration of it, were set forth by our ministry beyond contradiction ; the people behaving with much sobriety and serious attention. I hope the understandings of many of them were opened, so as in some degree to perceive we had been formerly misrepresented and our principles hidden, but now opened and cleared. At the conclusion of the last meeting, we gave away among the people for their information and help, near a thousand books, all which were kindly received ; and as love and unity abounded among Friends, so we left the town and people in mutual love and good will between them and us, to the

praise of the living Lord, who worketh in us the good will and the deed, to his own glory.

In the 7th month, I was at several meetings in Oxfordshire, and proceeded till I came to Bristol, where I remained some time attending the meetings with peace and satisfaction to myself and Friends. One first-day I had to expose the pernicious doctrine of transubstantiation; wherein the Papists say, that upon uttering the words of consecration by the priest, the bread or wafer so consecrated, is immediately changed into the very body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross at Jerusalem; that this wafer being now the true God and Christ, is to be worshiped as such. Thus the people are deceived, and led blindfold into idolatry, instead of worshipping Almighty God, through Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and true Saviour, sent into the world in the flesh, crucified, dead, and buried, ascended into heaven, and come from the Father a second time, as He is the Spirit of Truth, who leadeth into all truth, completing the salvation of all who believe in Him, and follow and obey Him.

In another meeting, where several hireling teachers of different notions were present, and many other people, it became my concern to

stand up with these words of the apostle : * ‘ The time will come, when they will not endure sound doctrine ; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the Truth, and be turned unto fables.’

I proceeded to observe : “ That this prophecy is fulfilled in this and other nations at this day ; all the several sects adapting to themselves certain and various notions, principles, and systems of religion, make choice of such teachers, as will teach and propagate these notions, and no other ; at the same time rejecting and despising the free, perfect, and effectual teaching of the Grace of God, which hath been publicly and freely preached in this and some other countries now near a century, and is to this day, agreeably to the kind and merciful invitation of the Almighty, where He saith by his prophet : † ‘ Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters ; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat : yea, come buy wine and milk without money, and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread ? and your labour for that which satisfieth not ? Harken diligently unto Me, and eat ye that which is good ; and let your soul delight itself

* 2 Tim. iv. 3. 4.

† Isaiah lv. 1—4.

in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto Me ; hear, and your soul shall live ; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David. Behold I have given Him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people.' It is to Him the Lord Jesus Christ alone, that we have ever directed mankind, that they may be taught by his Grace and Holy Spirit in their own hearts, and redeemed from all the hireling teachers in the world, of every notion and form ; and this we have done freely, without any mercenary, low views to ourselves, but in that love to the souls of all men, in which the Son of God laid down his life for all mankind, tasting death for every man."

On the 4th of the 9th month, I left Bristol, and taking meetings in my way, came to London on the 23rd. Here I remained several months, visiting the meetings, and assisting, as far as I could, in the solicitations to parliament for further ease concerning tithes. It fell to my lot, with some other Friends, at the request of the meeting for sufferings, to speak with the bishops of Salisbury and Chichester, and five other bishops on the subject ; they generally gave up all pretensions to Divine right of tithes, and insisted on the laws of the land only.

^v At the Yearly Meeting in London, in 1736,
1735-6.

were two appeals, one of which I thought uncommon and remarkable. A certain person in Ireland having been a preacher among Friends there, and having married in our way, taking offence respecting an arbitration in London, let in resentments against some individuals; and not meeting with such satisfaction upon some complaints as he imagined to be his due, he by degrees increased in his prejudices, till he became an open and embittered enemy to the whole Society. Falling in with the bishops in Ireland, he became a strenuous opposer of our endeavours for an affirmation there, as we had obtained in England; and sued some Friends in chancery for money, where none was due, taking advantage of them, because they could not put in their answers upon oath, and hindering as much as he could, their obtaining an affirmation instead of an oath, in such courts and cases. He also denied his wife because married among Friends, attempting to take another; with some other evil practices: for which the Monthly Meeting he belonged to had denied him; and he had appealed to the Quarterly Meeting, but had never appeared there, nor any one for him, to prosecute his appeal.

After some time he had come over to London, and there had obtained from some ignorant and disorderly persons professing the Truth, but

not from any meeting, a certificate ; with which he went to Pennsylvania ; but Friends there being apprized from Ireland of his doings, he was not received among them. On his return to England, he by some means had got his case before Devonshire-House Monthly Meeting ; and thence, through London Quarterly Meeting, it came before the Yearly Meeting. The latter appointed a committee to hear it ; but on enquiry finding that the appellant had appealed in the same case, as already stated, and as I remember about sixteen years before, the committee made report that the appeal was not regularly before the meeting ; and though some would have eluded this proceeding by subtleties and sophistical reasonings, yet the wisdom and power of the meeting silenced them, and the report was received and agreed to.

Seeing the ill tendency and consequences of such appeals from other nations and places in the world, to the Yearly Meeting in London, I took this occasion to observe to the meeting, that this being a matter of immoral conduct only, in the appellant, and not of faith, doctrine, or principle, it was sufficiently cognizable and determinable in and by the Monthly Meeting in Ireland, where the matters of complaint arose, or by appeal to the Quarterly Meeting there, or finally in their Yearly, or Half-Yearly

Meeting, usually held in Dublin, and that no appeal at all ought in such cases to be admitted from that meeting in Dublin: or from any Yearly Meeting of business in any other country or island to London; nor ought that meeting in London to receive any such, or enter into judgment thereon; for if they should, the consequences thereof might be very pernicious and oppressive. Such appeals from Pennsylvania, Rhode-Island, Barbadoes, or other remote places, or even from Ireland, would be attended with great charges and trouble many ways, and loss of time, to persons necessary to attend appeals from such places, and likewise to the members of the Yearly Meeting in London; which would be thereby rendered as a stage of contention by every unruly spirit who could make a party and wrong interest in and among such as himself; and would render London as a kind of head of the churches. But the proceedings of Rome remain in too glaring characters, for any men of knowledge and Truth, who are friends to the rights and privileges of mankind, to promote or submit to any such thing in this Society, now or in the succession of ages. So this appeal was rejected as irregular, and not lying there. ✓

Leaving London on the 12th of the 6th month, 1736, I went northward; and on the 25th, was

at Leeds: The meeting is considerably large, and consists for the greatest part, of young people; sober, but few of them have experienced the Lord's sanctifying baptism; which is much the state of our young people at this day throughout the world; being in danger, as it has happened to others, of sitting down in a traditional way, under the profession of Truth, as to the doctrine and form of the discipline of it, and yet ignorant of the life, light, virtue, and power of Truth, essentially in themselves; by which an apostacy from the very form may enter, and proceed gradually, till the whole be lost as to them, and some other thing take place under the same name: which the Lord prevent by his kind and merciful visitation, in his own time and way; for nothing else can do it, or carry on that great and glorious work, which his own arm hath begun in the earth, in and by his people.

² I proceeded through Westmoreland, taking meetings on my way; and on the 20th of the 7th month, arrived at Justice-Town, where I had a large nursery of forest-tree plants, both British and American; from which having been absent some years, they were in that time grown much out of order, and many of them lost, being overgrown and suppressed by others; very much like the course and way of human-kind, among whom the weaker are too often crushed

and ruined by the stronger, and in vain lament and cry for aid, when none hears, relents, or aids, and where the only relief is patient suffering, till kinder death ends the trouble.

After attending the Quarterly Meeting at Pardshaw, on the 27th, I returned to Justice-Town; where with many hands, I began to plant out several sorts of young trees, as oaks, elms, ashes, acer-majors, poplars of several kinds, firs, English walnuts, black walnuts, tulip trees, locust trees, cedars of America, occidental planes, lindels, chesnuts, horse-chesnuts, divers sorts of willows, beeches, hornbeams, scarlet oaks, &c. which I had raised from seeds and cuttings, after their several kinds, at that farm, to furnish that part of the country in time with timber, which is now scarce; and that I might be an example to others in that useful kind of improvement; which several since have begun to follow. In the mean time I visited some meetings in those parts: staying here till the 7th of the 9th month, [the 11th month according to the new style,]² when I went for London; and I continued there till the 4th month, 1738; and then returned again into the north, visiting the meetings in many places to mutual comfort.

In my way to York, being accompanied by several Friends, we came to Tadcaster, where falling in with other Friends from Leeds, and

places adjacent, we all dined together at an inn; and before we arose from the table, the Divine Truth tendered me very much, and reached the Friends in general, surprizing us together with a merciful visitation of his kindness, as in our early times; and we were at this time as little children before Him, satisfied with the breast of living consolation in his presence, not to be forgotten, but sealed on every heart, to the praise of the God of mercy and of our salvation. We were reduced to silence.

The Quarterly Meeting at York was very large, especially in times of worship, when many of other societies came in, and generally behaved well. The Lord was with us, and things both as to worship and discipline, were conducted in the meekness of his wisdom, to his own glory and the consolation of his people, without schism or jar.

On the 4th of the 5th month, I went to a meeting appointed at Huby, from thence to Thornton, Malton, and Pickering. In this meeting there was something hard to be wrought through, from a spirit of heaviness and carelessness, yet the power of the Lord was manifested, and the brightness of his presence prevailed over death and darkness, and the righteous rejoiced before Him, in a sense of his never-failing goodness. After this I was at Scarborough attending the meetings, which

were at times large and comfortable; one meeting in particular was very open, Friends being generally tendered by the influence of Divine love, the sweetness whereof seasoned our conversation afterwards. In another meeting, in which strangers attending the spaw were present, ² many truths of the Gospel and kingdom of God were opened unto them, in the love and goodness of God; under a sense whereof, the meeting was held throughout the time to general satisfaction, so far as I could gather from the still, attentive, serious, and solid behaviour of the people; so that the Friends and they, seemed as if they were all reconciled in one, even in the Divine Truth, under the powerful, baptizing virtue and influence of it; and that evening the Lord gave me great consolation therein. ^a

I continued some time in these parts, and was again at the Quarterly Meeting at York, the business whereof was conducted in the peaceable wisdom of the Son of God: many great and important truths were delivered in the meetings by several brethren, in the demonstration and authority of the Holy Spirit. Here a person took down some of my testimonies in short hand, as he had done before at some other times: this is seldom truly done; for though the form of the speech may be, by this means,

and help of the memory of the writer nearly preserved, yet the missing or altering of a word in some sentences, may greatly alter and wrong the sense; and it is certain, that no letters, words, or speech can represent the Divine virtue, power, and energy, in which the doctrines of the truth are delivered by those who are sent of God: for they speak with wisdom and authority in and from Him.

The meeting ended in peace, and divers departed the city the same evening with satisfaction and comfort: yet as pillars in the house of God, it is to be hoped they will depart no more therefrom, but remain for ever; but I having no certain dwelling place on earth, though there is something therein I call mine, which I have power over while in this body, and not being in haste to leave the city, I staid to attend the service of the Lord in the next first-day meetings, in which we were favoured with the Divine presence; and many important truths were delivered.

On the 5th of the 8th month, I was at the Monthly Meeting at Warnsworth, where a case occurred which admitted of some different ways of thinking; yet Friends condescending one to another, and the testimony of truth going forth against all partiality of judgment, and all sides and parties on any account whatever, there being no side or party save truth and error only,

things were carried on and finished in the peaceable wisdom of Truth, to satisfaction and comfort.

From hence I went to Woodhouse and Sheffield, and made a visit to my long acquainted friend, Sir John Rhodes, a man of truth and understanding; who neglecting all the honour of the world, had lived but too reclusely, by which the brightness of his talents have not been made so conspicuous as otherwise they might. On the 16th, I went to Nottingham, and after that took meetings in my way to London, where I came on the 29th; the Lord's power and goodness having eminently attended, to the comfort and edification of many where my lot had been cast.

I staid in London till the 17th of the 4th month, 1739, and then went to the Quarterly Meeting at York, which was large and comfortable. After this I was at a Yearly Meeting for worship at Bingley, in which the truths of the Gospel were largely opened to the people; and no other public minister being there I was much spent as to my natural strength, being now of great age. But the Lord was pleased to renew the strength of my mind, through his goodness, and I soon recovered.

On the 5th of the 5th month, I went to the Quarterly Meeting at Kendal, which was

conducted in the peaceable wisdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; through whom, to the Father of all our mercies, be dominion and glory, now and for ever.

^a On the 10th, I went to Sedgwick, to our friend Robert Chambers's; where I, with my company, was kindly entertained. The next day we went to a general meeting at Preston; which was large, and for the most part composed of young people. The Lord blessed us together in his presence; and many of the young ones were baptized of the Lord, in the purifying flame of Divine love, to their great consolation; entering thereby into a covenant of light and life with Him, according to his sure promise of old.

On the 5th of the 6th month, I was at the meeting at Moorhouse, which was large and very open; many moral truths being delivered with Divine authority, and thereby sent home to the consciences of several; who professing the Gospel, were yet ignorant of the law of moral righteousness; and great tenderness came over the hearts of many, especially of the younger sort, most of the meeting being of such. For this day's refreshment in the Lord the living were thankful unto Him who alone is worthy.^a

Having finished what was incumbent on me in the country at this time, I set forward for London on the 15th of the 6th month, in

company with John Wilson of Kendal, a true friend of mine in the Truth, and of great service in and to the Society of Friends in general, both in the country, and in the Yearly Meetings in London.

^b That night we lodged at Penrith ; and next morning called at Lowther-hall, to pay our regard to lord Lonsdale ; who as usual, received us in a friendly and familiar manner ; and as he is a person of good understanding and temper, we had agreeable conversation on divers subjects ; and a people of late appearing in this nation, to which the name of Methodists is given, being now the common subject of conversation, we had some discourse concerning them, and the points of religion and doctrine which they hold and profess.

Their teachers are ministers of the national church of England, for the most part regularly ordained according to that constitution ; but profess to have received the Holy Ghost, not in notion only but in reality and in deed ; and by whose qualifications and immediate assistance they profess to preach. They insist much upon the doctrine and necessity of regeneration ; but deny that this work can be effected by the ministration of water in any form, or by whomsoever administered ; or in any way but by the Spirit of Christ as inwardly made manifest in the heart.

They preach freely, as is commonly reported; and the national priests, fearing some ill consequences to arise from this people to themselves, and their power and maintenace, some of them have taken the hint early; and as their manner is, have begun to hate and persecute them, both as to their profession of the Spirit, and characters as men; calling, both in their pulpits and print, upon the powers of church and state to suppress them, as a sect, which may in time be dangerous to both: though I hear nothing of any kind of immorality countenanced among them; but on the contrary much brokenness of heart, and reformation of manners in many of them. 'The tree is known by its fruits; and they that are born' only 'after the flesh, always persecute them that are' likewise 'born after the Spirit:' but the Lord of life, in his own time will determine all points and declare who is in the right. But this is certain, that no persecutor on any pretence can be a Christian, while in that state and practice, nor any national persecuting church a Church of Christ, the Lamb of God, and Prince of Peace; for all such are synagogues of satan, and not congregations of the Highest, as are all who are gathered of the Father of Spirits into the life, name, nature, and power of his ever blessed Son, the Lord Jesus Christ.

Being invited to dinner, we staid and were entertained in a plentiful and friendly manner; after which we took leave about three in the afternoon, and that evening got well to Kendal; where I was kindly received at my usual lodging.

On the 17th, I fell in with a week-day's meeting at Kendal, where the goodness of the Lord was with us; and that afternoon was a Meeting for Sufferings, and other business of discipline and concerns of our Society, managed in a social and prudent manner; the peace of God ruling all.^b

^c I went by way of Lancaster, Preston, Manchester, &c. to Birmingham. There on first-day the 8th of the 7th month, I was at their meeting forenoon and after. The first was considerably large, many Friends belonging to it at that time, and others came in also; but the latter was much crowded with all sorts, so that many could not get in. The important truths of the Gospel and kingdom of Christ, were clearly opened that day unto them in the wisdom and authority of it, and they were generally still and attentive. Truth was over all; and Friends and others seemed at that time all united in one power; so that I hope some good was done among them.

On the 11th, I went through a furious storm

of wind and rain to Coventry, to John Gulson's; and next day was at their week-day meeting; which consisted for most part of Friends, and generally very young. I said many things to them, pertinent as I thought to their conditions; but many being as the old bottles, and some others not then capable of understanding the doctrines of Truth, the flowings of Divine Life were not so plentiful as at some other times and places; yet the good presence of the Lord was sensibly with us; and that is the substance of all, and ever sufficient for all who love and fear Him.

On the 23rd, being first-day, I was at their meeting at High-Wycombe in the forenoon; which consisted for the most part of such as profess the Truth. It was much shut up in the beginning, many of them being such as have come into the profession by education, and know little of the work of Truth in their hearts; yet the Lord mercifully favoured us with his goodness, and the testimony of Truth came over all. The afternoon meeting being put off till the third hour, and notice being given, it was very large; and He that opens and no man shuts, and who when He shuts no man nor angels can open the mystery of life, opened freely and largely the things of his kingdom, with authority and clearness, as in the brightness

of the day of his power, to general satisfaction and consolation, to the solid praise and glory of his own Eternal Name, who is worthy for ever.

On the 28th, I arrived in London, and went to my usual quarters, at my dear friend Joseph Green's; where I was received with kindness and respect, as in all former times: and having been preserved in health, and still in a good degree of strength of body and mind, through so long a journey and much bad weather, I was thankful to the Lord, who leadeth out, preserveth through every event, and returneth in safety. ^c

1740.

Section IIII.

Leaves London for the north.—Bradford.—Kendal.—Carlisle.—Wigton.—Justice-Town.—Kendal.—Postscript containing a brief sketch of his latter years.

I remained in London attending the meetings till the 26th of the 2nd month, 1740, and then returned into the north.

^d On the 10th of the 3rd month, I went to Bradford, to my good friend Benjamin Bartlet's; where I staid that night. Next day being the first of the week, I was at their meeting; where the Lord gave me an open door, and the meeting was a comfortable time in his Divine presence and goodness; and the testimony of Truth was over all in the wisdom and authority of it, to general satisfaction.

On the 12th, I went to William Slater's, who with his wife kindly received and plentifully entertained me, though they are not rich in the world, having a large family of children, a small house with many small rooms for entertainment, two cows and a horse, and a little close of land to support them; and all labouring with their hands in one thing or other, they live plentifully

in a decent way, and entertain Friends freely with the best they have; which must needs be very acceptable to every honest mind.

On the 14th, I went to Kendal, and lodged with my old landlord, Thomas Ellwood, being entertained there as kindly as ever. On the 16th, I was at their week-day meeting; which was very comfortable, both in time of silence and testimony; in which the Divine Truth triumphed gloriously.

On the 18th, being the first of the week, I was there again, both forenoon and after; where the Lord also favoured us with his Divine presence and goodness, to the satisfaction of all the living, and to the praise of his own Name; and Friends were generally very loving and cheerful after these meetings.

On the 19th, I went to Carlisle accompanied by my friend Thomas Ellwood, and lodged with our honourable friend the widow Mary Jackson. Soon after my arrival there, came on a Monthly Meeting; where Truth was glorious in the power and virtue of it, to the stirring up of the drowsy, idle, and careless among us, and to the just reproof and rebuke of the busybodies in other mens' matters, neglecting what is properly their own; and inventors of false accusations and evils against others. Some of the principal things insisted upon, were as

follows : “ ‘ Report, and we will report : ’ that old corruption is too much rampant and in fashion among you this day. Know ye not the state of those, and what and who they are on the left hand of the judgment seat of Christ, to whom it is said : ‘ Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels ? ’ Do you really know who this devil and his angels are, against whom this dreadful sentence is denounced by the Judge, the all-wise and all-knowing Judge of the world, of the living and the dead. The word *satan*, in the language in which that part of the Scripture was written, signifieth an adversary ; being properly applicable to that evil thing in mankind, which worketh in their imaginations every evil thought, and brings them forth, as man closeth with them, into evil words and actions ; and as the destruction of souls is thereby effected, he is an adversary unto them, even the greatest they have, though under the false pretences of our friend, to gratify all those evil desires himself is the father of, in our deceived hearts.

“ And as to that word which is translated devil into our language, it properly signifies a calumniator and false accuser. He is the inventor of evil, and evil things ; he is the liar, and the father thereof ; and when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of himself ; he hath no foundation for

what he saith; and all liars are his children: for though by nature, they are the children of the first Adam in the flesh, yet as to their minds, they are so depraved and debauched by hearkening to and obeying this evil one, and so united and incorporated with him, that they are one with him, and with the propagators of his works and kingdom in and among the rest of mortals; not always designing to do so, but under the delusions and deceptions of him who subtilly worketh in them, even often out of their own view.

“And as to the angels of this devil, the calumniator of God and man from the beginning of the world, this word angel signifies a messenger sent by another; then he who inventeth calumnies and false reports against others, and they who receive them, spread and carry them about to the dishonour of God and hurt of mankind, as they are become one with that evil one, and one with him in his work and works of evil, he and they have one and the same sentence: ‘Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels:’ as much as to say, go ye workers of iniquity into that exquisite and everlasting punishment due unto you, as the necessary effect of your own apostacy from all good, and of living in evil.

“And I further observe to you, that the word

fire in the text imports the most tormenting and painful property to flesh and blood, and the most dreadful too, known unto mankind or brute animals, in the whole system of visible or tangible nature." I also stated what the apostle James has written to this effect : " ' Let not him who is tempted say he is tempted of God, for God tempteth no man, neither is He himself tempted of evil ; but he who is tempted is led aside of his own lusts, and enticed.' And as this apostle maketh no mention of any other devil in this text but our own lusts, let us all be so aware of them, every one in himself, as not to think, or speak, or act according to them, and that evil one, who worketh in them and by them ; but through the Divine Eternal Truth, the Holy Spirit of Truth, revealed in us through Christ our Lord, in whom we have believed, let us mortify the deeds of the body ; and then shall we conquer all evil, and subdue every temptation towards it in due time, and live in and unto Him who died for us ; and in the end of all see evil no more : to which I fervently exhort this day." ^a

Thus Friends were exhorted to beware of these great evils, and to do or say nothing inconsistent with true Christian love, which is the law of Divine and endless life in all the faithful and obedient ; and in their conversation

and dealings one with another, and with all men, to take the counsel of the apostle: 'Let love be without dissimulation: love not in word, nor in tongue only, but in deed and in truth.'

° Some time after I was again at a Quarterly Meeting at Carlisle; where the subject matter brought to remembrance in the sense of Truth, was concerning judging one another, and judgment; in which I observed to the auditory "the great error of mankind in advancing themselves into the seat of judgment one over another, and most commonly in things wherein they have no evidence or power, contrary to the doctrine of Christ, and his practice and example; whereby in the consequence and nature of things, they detrude Him from his office, and usurp his throne, who said: 'Judge not that ye be not judged; for with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you again:' and even where there may be some seeming appearance of evil upon others, we are cautioned against judging without knowledge or moral certainty. 'Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.' We ought therefore to be very tender and cautious in this point, lest whilst we rashly censure others without adequate

evidence, we bring upon ourselves the heavy stroke of the righteous judgment of God for our false judgment and censure of the innocent, whom the Lord hath made and preserved of his own good will and pleasure; for as all have been sinners, though not in the same manner, as such they have no right nor authority to judge one another: for God only, who knows all men, and our various motives to every thought, word, and deed, can judge rightly among us, between the Lord and the soul, and award wages unto all, adequate to every state.

“Nevertheless, where any are so unhappy as to commit evil of any kind, and are justly accused of it in a regular manner before proper judges, then they ought not to deny their faults, but freely to confess them to others, that the offences thereby given to particulars and the general may be passed by, and the penitent kindly restored; for conviction is by judgment, that repentance and amendment may engage the healing application of forgiveness and mercy.

“I also observed the conduct of Christ in the case of the poor woman taken in adultery; her accusers were all sinners, though perhaps not in the like thing, and therefore had no power or right to censure her: and besides, they had an evil design in it against the Lord himself with respect to the law of Moses, by which though in

a mobbish and tumultuous manner, they pretended to judge: but the Lord who knew them well, and their evil design, put them all to silence by bringing their own sins into remembrance, so that they slunk away ashamed in themselves as guilty sinners, though so lately before they had triumphed over her whose sin was open; while their own was secret unto other men, but known to Him by whom God created the worlds, and by whom He judgeth the thoughts, words, and actions of men; and this great and notable example was not to encourage the evil; for though Christ did not condemn her, not being judge according to the constitution of their law; but, as the Messiah of God unto that people, gave her a merciful deliverance and exhortation, yet it was with saying: 'Go thy way, sin no more.'

"And these are not the only instances whereby we are taught to be very cautious how we censure one another, for Christ saith of Himself as man: 'I judge no man; but the word which I have spoken, the same shall judge him at the last day.' Again, saith the apostle: 'I judge no man, no not even my own self.' Seeing therefore that Christ himself, though the Son of God too, as He is man judgeth not without the Father; and that apostle, who referred himself also to the judgment of God, as only

righteous and good, did not assume judgment and the seat of it over mankind, till given of the Father in his own proper time: who then art thou, O bold, arrogant, hardened, and presumptuous sinner! who exaltest thyself into that dignity and office, which none hath right to, but whomsoever the Lord himself will call, qualify, and advance? which are not pharisees, self-promoters, the proud, high-minded, and unrighteous; but such as being redeemed through grace from all iniquity, He hath appointed for judges in Truth, over such as sin against the righteous rules of society and moral truth, and are justly convicted by moral evidence: but secret things belong unto God only, who knows the secrets of all hearts to perfection, and none else ever did or can; and therefore the Lord alone hath that prerogative and right.”^e

I was at some other meetings in these parts as Scotby, the Moorhouse, the Border, and Wigton; in all which the Truth triumphed gloriously, especially in the last mentioned meeting; and that day, and the testimony of Truth will not soon be forgotten among them: many strangers of the town also came, whom Friends had invited.

I was likewise in the country occasionally; for as the estate at Justice-Town, which had been my father’s inheritance, was providentially

fallen into my hands, and the small buildings much decayed, especially by the severity of the extraordinary frost of last winter, by which many of the walls were shaken, I thought it not equal to receive rents for the premises without proper habitations for the tenants, and therefore was willing to repair them, and erect others where necessary. In order to make preparation for such a work, I staid till the 15th of the 6th month, when, accompanied by my friend Thomas Ellwood, whom I met with at Carlisle; I went to Kendal, and was at their meetings on the first-day of the week: the meeting in the forenoon was very open and comfortable, the Lord blessing us with a good degree of his presence; but that we might sensibly experience, that in the Lord alone are all our fresh springs, as from an ocean of all fullness; and that we must not depend on what has been, but on that which is present, in humble submission to his will and time; the meeting was heavy and lifeless a long time in the afternoon; yet the Lord showed mercy towards the end, and that wholesome exhortation of the apostle was brought to my remembrance, in some degree of the same life in which it was written: * “ ‘ I beseech you brethren, that you

* Rom. xii, 1.

present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God which is your reasonable service.' The body being of the earth, is of itself dead and inactive; but as it is in vital union with the mind, which is of a different nature, it is moved thereby, in things within its reach, and yet can act nothing acceptable unto God, but as quickened and strengthened by the influence of the Holy Spirit of Christ, the Mediator in all acts of worship; and therefore we must wait for Him at all times, in passive silence of mind, to be rightly fitted under an exercise of faith and hope towards God; and the Lord appeareth in his own time, when the creature seeth its want, and that there is no help but in the Lord alone: then He ariseth as the brightness of the morning, and thereby disperseth the fogs of the night. And since the last enemy that is to be destroyed is death, how is it likely that enemy should be overcome by such, who in times of worship are overcome, from time to time, by his image? I speak as unto wise men, judge ye what I say; and be sincere and vigilant, that the Lord may bless you in all your meetings with his living presence, and preserve you all alive unto Himself, to his glory."

On the 18th, I went forward to Settle, and afterwards took some meetings in my way to

London, and arrived there on the 1st of the 7th month, accompanied by several Friends from Hertford, and others from London who met us half way. I went to my usual lodging, where I was as well received as ever; though at that time it was truly a house of mourning; for my kind and good landlord Joseph Green, a man of sincerity and truth, and his eldest son, a youth of about nineteen years of age, had been lately buried, dying within a few hours one of another, and left one of the most mournful widows and mothers I have ever observed; for they loved each other most tenderly, after having been married about twenty years: and having three other younger children, the whole care of them fell upon her, with the weight of all their affairs and business in the world, which was very considerable. And the concern which fell upon me in Cumberland, when I heard of this stroke of Providence, had hastened me to London much sooner than otherwise I intended; if peradventure I might be serviceable in any way, to the widow and children.



P. S. The author's account breaks off here, which seems rather an abrupt period; and as the editors have not been able to discover any

further prosecution of the work among his papers, they apprehend it may not be amiss to add: That he continued in London some part of the ensuing winter, where he was seized with a paralytic disorder, which affected him to such a degree, as deprived him very much of his speech, and confined him within doors till the return of the spring, when he regained a little strength, and got out to meetings; but was not so far recovered as to be able to hold a discourse long; his memory being also greatly impaired by the disorder: nevertheless he continued sweet in spirit, and cheerful among his friends, whom he was always glad to see and be in company with. He likewise diligently attended the Yearly Meeting in London, 1741; though he spoke not much in it.

Before the end of the summer he was so much better, that he travelled down to Carlisle, to look after his affairs in the north, which required his attendance; for having a design to build a house at Justice-Town, he provided materials, and frequently overlooked the workmen; indeed his health and faculties were so well restored, as that he many times appeared in public in the meetings, greatly to the satisfaction of Friends.

Thus he continued without much alteration till the 23rd of the 4th month following, 1742,

when in the evening he suffered a fresh attack of his disorder, which seized him with great violence; and the next morning between two and three o'clock, he departed this life, in perfect peace, there is great reason to believe, with God and mankind. Two days after, his corpse was interred in the burial ground at Carlisle, being attended by a great number of Friends from several parts of the country, and also by divers people in the neighbourhood, who seemed deeply affected with the loss of a man so valuable and useful to his country, in several stations of life.

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